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ENGLAND IN THE SUDAN



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ENGLAND IN THE SUDAN

BY
YACOUB PASHA ARTIN
"

TRANSLATED
FROM THE FRENCH OF THE AUTHOR BY
GEORGE ROBB
KHEDIVIAL TRAINING COLLEGE, CAIRO

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

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MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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PREFACE

BEFORE beginning the account of my trip to the Sudan, it is my duty and at the same time my privilege to acknowledge here the indebtedness of Professor Sayce and myself to the Sirdar, Sir Reginald Wingate, Hâkim Aâm of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, who with his customary kindness rendered our journey as interesting and instructive as possible.

In regard to the ancient and modern history of the Sudan Sir Reginald occupies a unique position. No one else in the world has such a full and minute knowledge of the country as he, and no one can lay claim to his vast acquaintance with the folk-lore of the various tribes that inhabit it, whether they be of foreign origin, as are the Berbers and Arabs, or native, as are the negroes and negroids. Not only did Sir Reginald allow us the use of his library, containing, as it does, thousands of volumes relating to the Sudan, but he even permitted us to take with us on our journey certain books with which, so to speak, to complete our information on the spot. Thanks to his kindness and advice our journey proved a veritable pleasure-trip, and in return we beg to offer him, in this place, our most sincere and cordial thanks.

We feel equally grateful to Lady Wingate, who, with that genuine politeness which she possesses in so

high a degree, assists her husband in guiding along the path of duty and self-sacrifice the body of men who form the headquarters-staff of the Sudan Civil and Military Services. All these men, without exception, afford to the world noble examples of a life of labour and self-denial, devoting themselves to the welfare of civilisation and the cause of peace.

YACOUB ARTIN.

CAIRO, *June*, 1910.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

HIS EXCELLENCY YACoub ARTIN PASHA has asked me to add a second Preface to his own. But his Preface so fully expresses my own feelings that I find I have little to add to it beyond saying how largely the pleasurable-ness of my Sudanese trip was due to my companion, and how much indebted I continued to be to the Sirdar's kindness after we had parted company. Throughout the district of the Blue Nile the Pasha found wherever we went old pupils from the Egyptian Government Schools, who had a grateful recollection of him in his Ministerial days, and accordingly expressed their opinions to him with greater freedom than they would have done to an English official. What they have said to him, therefore, may be regarded as representative of Egyptian feeling in the Sudan.

With the Pasha's return to Cairo began what I may term the archaeological portion of my travels. Here again my indebtedness to the Sirdar was more than can be measured by words, and I owe a further debt of gratitude to my two companions, Bishop Gwynne and Mr. Peter Drummond, the Inspector of Antiquities, as well as to Col. Jackson, the Mudir of Meroë, and, above all to Captain Midwinter, the archaeologically-minded and genial Director of the Sudanese Railways. One of the results of my travels has been the exploring

expedition undertaken by Mr. Somers Clarke and myself last winter along the western bank of the Nile from Halfa southward ; another is the excavating work of Professor Garstang at Meroë, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, which has brought to light a new and unexpected civilisation of high order, and of which a full account is being published by the University Press of Oxford. Not the least important fact disclosed by the excavations and exploratory work is that the Greek writers were correct in the accounts they gave of the fertility, the dense population and high culture of the Island of Meroë, that is to say, of the district enclosed between the Atbara and the Blue and White Niles. With the clearing out of the old canals, wells, and reservoirs, and the growth of population, this part of the Sudan may easily become once more the garden of Africa.

Indeed, as the Pasha has remarked, what most struck us in our voyage upon the Blue Nile was the beauty of the scenery and the luxuriance of the vegetation. After a certain distance south of Khartum, the scenery is that of a river in the south of Scotland, except that the vegetation is tropical, and the river itself broad and majestic. It is all alive with life ; the air is filled with brilliantly-coloured birds, the river with crocodiles and hippopotami, the forests with long-tailed monkeys and baboons, elephants and lions, porcupines and giraffes. On its upper reaches was the country called Punt by the Egyptians, which included the modern Abyssinia, and along its banks ran the old road of Nade, which led from the Red Sea to Rufa'a, whence I have been able to trace it northward by Gebel Keheit and Gebel Geili to Naga, where four Meroëtic temples are still

standing and whose port on the Nile is now marked by the railway-station of Wad Ben Naga. How old this road was may be gathered from the fact that among the earliest relics of Egyptian civilisation that have come down to us are certain "prehistoric" slates, on which we see the Egyptian Pharaohs conquering a people who live in a land where giraffes abound. It was from here, too, that the Egyptians derived their ebony, which, as Mr. Wood informed us, does not grow farther north than the region of the Blue Nile.

In later days Ethiopia still exercised an influence upon the history of the world. It was the Ethiopian king, with his black levies from the land of the *sadd*, who prevented Sennacherib from destroying Jerusalem, and therewith the religion of Judah, before the reforms of Josiah and the preaching of the great prophets had enabled it to withstand the disintegrating forces of exile and dispersion. Though Tirhakah was compelled to retreat to Egypt after the battle of Eltekeh, the Assyrian army was too shattered to follow him or to return to the siege of Jerusalem with any prospect of success. The season had grown late, and disease broke out in the ranks of the invaders. Sennacherib found himself obliged to lead the survivors of his army back to Nineveh, with his rebellious vassal unsubdued. The negroes of Africa had saved the city and temple of Jerusalem.

In return, as we are learning from papyri discovered at Elephantine, the Jewish kings sent assistance to the rulers of Ethiopia in their struggles against the Pharaohs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. It may be that this was the time when the religion of Judah was introduced among the peoples of Ethiopia. That it

had been introduced is known from the fact that the eunuch of Queen Candace conformed to the requirements of Jewish orthodoxy, and the Jewish elements that still exist in the Abyssinian Church indicate that there was Judaism in Abyssinia before there was Christianity.

The heroine of one of the most famous of the old Greek novels was an Ethiopian Princess, and the final scene, which ends in a marriage, as all orthodox novels ought to do, is laid in the Ethiopian capital, Meroë. From the days of Homer downward, the "blameless Ethiopians" were to the Greeks a symbol of a people that could be civilised and nevertheless virtuous. There is now a prospect that the Ethiopia of Greek imagination will once more arise from its ashes. The pages which follow will show what is being done for the country and its people, and how the efforts of the Government are seconded by a picked body of able men.

A. H. SAYCE.

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Tant de lieux aujourd'hui inhabités sont l'indice de quelque grande calamité qui à des époques antérieures a porté le ravage parmi les populations de ces contrées.

F. CAILLIAUD.

KHARTUM

9th NOVEMBER, 1908—20th NOVEMBER, 1908

▲

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR REGINALD WINGATE,
K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., D.C.L.,
Sirdar of the Egyptian Army and Governor-General of the Sudan.

To face page 3.

ENGLAND IN THE SUDAN

ONE afternoon in the month of September, 1908, Professor Sayce and I were seated by his hospitable fireside in Edinburgh, discussing our plans for the following winter. I had given in my resignation in November, 1907, and the Professor had sold his *dahabia*¹ at the end of the winter season of 1907-8, so we were both of us free to do as we wished.

I do not know which of us first mentioned the Sudan, but sure enough we found ourselves discussing that country. Prof. Sayce had never been there at all; I had visited it in 1902. I had only gone as far as Khartum, but that first trip fired me with the desire to ascend the two Niles, a desire which, however, I had not since been able to put into execution. Now that I was free, the opportune moment for making the trip had come. So far as Prof. Sayce was concerned, seeing that he had no longer a *dahabia* to bind him to the lower reaches of the Nile, he likewise was anxious to put his freedom to account in seeing those parts, especially their Meroïtic and Christian antiquities.

As soon as we had agreed upon our plans, the Professor wrote to Sir R. Wingate at Dunbar. In reply,

¹ A house-boat used for travelling on the Nile.

Sir Reginald most kindly invited us over to lunch with him, and to discuss our plans under his roof. In the course of conversation, he recommended us to start for Khartum at the earliest possible moment, in order to try and ascend the Blue Nile before it reached its lowest level. For more than ten years previously this river had been unnavigable after the end of November. "You will run the risk," said Sir Reginald, "of being unable to ascend the river if you set out after the end of November. I myself am to be in Khartum at the beginning of November, so be you there also. I'm sure we shall find an opportunity of taking you comfortably up to Roseires. On your return you will be able to go up the White Nile with the boat of the 15th December."

This itinerary being decided upon, he spoke to us of the precautions to be taken against sunstroke, mosquito-bites, etc., and advised us to provide ourselves with pith-helmets to protect us from the sun, mosquito-nets and top-boots to ward off mosquito-bites, and a small medicine-chest, etc. We returned to Edinburgh, fully agreed upon leaving Cairo on the 9th November, at 8 p.m., bound for Khartum direct. This is how our journey came to be decided upon.

On the 9th November the Professor was with me in Cairo, and at 8 p.m. we started off for Assuan.

As I kept my wife, Yérane Hanem, daily informed of our journey, I am going to transcribe, in these pages, the letters that I wrote her. I am of opinion that this method of placing my journey before the eyes of my readers will, by reason of its intimacy and, I may add, simplicity, afford them more pleasure than if I indited my account in a more or less scientific manner. In

several instances, which will readily be recognised, I have added a few notes at the time of preparing my record for the press.

I have not the slightest pretension of teaching my readers anything new. I saw countries that either charmed or displeased me, and met men of many races and colours. I conversed with these men, and they interested me. The conversations I had, and the sensations I experienced, I noted in a simple manner, without any *arrière-pensée*, and on the impulse of the moment.

Some of my friends, who seem to have found pleasure in reading these letters, have extracted from me a promise to place them before the public. This promise I now redeem, craving my readers' indulgence.

11th November, 1908,
On board the "Sudan" between
Assuan and Wadi-Halfa.

.
As you are acquainted with the landscape between Cairo and Luxor, I need therefore only mention it to tell you that, as the moonlight was so beautiful, I extinguished my lamp in order to enjoy the marvellous spectacle presented by the banks of the Nile, the adjacent country, and the forests of palm-trees that came into view in the midst of a delightfully soft light. Everything material seemed to become immaterial. It was as if in a train of reverie we were being carried away, at a giddy rate, into a magical country!

When we arrived at Wasta I stepped out of the train to stroll along the platform. Seeing an employee in

uniform, who turned out to be the Coptic store-keeper of the station, I asked him whether the cotton-worm had done much harm in the district. He proved to be both an orator and a philosopher, for he instantly replied: "Ah, Sir, don't believe that; the worms are innocent! Know that in this matter it is the punishment of God! Last high Nile all the big landowners planted the largest possible amount of cotton, nothing but cotton! Nobody thought of the poor people, of the masses that need corn for their sustenance, or of the unfortunate animals that require barley and beans for their food. What is the result? We are now eating corn at famine prices, for it costs P.T. 200 per ardeb, whilst the landowners sold their cotton at P.T. 420 per cantar! And they seemed happy to have done some harm to the poor. God, in His unfathomable wisdom, allowed the cotton to be of good quality so that it sold dear! Doubtless He was punishing the people for their sins by compelling them to buy their corn very dear! Why is this? How can we tell? Seek for the reason! As for me, *I* know, but I'm not at liberty to speak! This year, however, God has relentlessly punished the landowners, who failed to understand the warning given them last year and the curses of the poor! Cotton, you say? Why, it doesn't exist; it's all destroyed! The worms sent by God have destroyed it all! Yes, it is destroyed, and prices are bad. The landowners are losing, losing money! But do they understand? I doubt it, for their greed is prodigious! . . . Meanwhile God has had pity upon His people, for the Nile is high this year, so let us hope that next year corn will be P.T. 50 per ardeb. May such be God's will! . . ."

He was still speaking as the train moved off.



Photo. "The African World,"

SUBMERGED PHILAE.



Photo. "The African World,"

EGYPTIAN STATE RAILWAY, SHELLAL.

To face page 6.

TO THE
AMERICAN

Coming as it did after our dream-like journey, this Biblical discourse made me reflect upon the gulf that lies between us and such people, between our way of looking at things and theirs!

I fell asleep, nor did I awake until we reached Nag-Hamadi Bridge, to find ourselves in the midst of a thick mist that shut off all noise from the outer world. I felt as though I were still in my dream.

At Luxor we were given a saloon-car in the train for Assuan. On our journey along the narrow-gauge line, with an intense heat and much dust raging around us, we were as comfortable as one could expect to be under such circumstances.

At Assuan I received your telegram, and also one from Sir R. Wingate inviting us to stay at his house at Khartum. His invitation was marked by the amiability that characterises all he does.

At half-past six on the evening of the 10th November, we found ourselves on board the "Sudan," a very pretty and comfortable boat. But what struck me with admiration was the scenery around us, the marvellous panorama of Shellal!

The moon was just then illuminating the whole lake and its islands. Philae, in the foreground of the picture, at a distance of about two hundred metres from the boat, brought this adorable dreamland setting to a pitch of absolute perfection. Professor Sayce could not restrain himself from manifesting his delight at once again seeing Philae stand, as of yore, completely out of the water.

We did not retire to our cabins to seek sleep until there had faded from our sight Philae and its surroundings, the harmonious effect of which is that of a choral

8 ENGLAND IN THE SUDAN

accompaniment in the minor key of a delicious *nocturne*.

The weather is splendid this morning. There is a north-west wind blowing, the Nile is high and beautiful, the sky a veritable orgy of all shades of blue, from pale-blue to turquoise, and the light such as adds a divine charm to water, rocks, and vegetation. This part of the Nile is quite different from that north of the Cataracts and from the Egyptian Nile! . . .

Everything here is black—the rocks that rise in knolls along the banks of the river, the men and even the animals, all are black, whilst the valleys between the rocks are overrun by golden sands which render the whole scenery incredibly rich in tone.

We are travelling through a country apparently uninhabited, though it seems impossible that these districts should always have been deserted. One cannot refrain from thinking that when the Nile flowed at a distinctly higher level than that of to-day, these places must have supported a population vastly superior in number to that which vegetates nowadays along the Nubian banks of the Nile.

All these temples and fortresses, whose ruins alone remain, could not possibly have been constructed in deserts such as we see to-day. There must have existed, from remotest times, a considerable trade—at least a transport trade—between the Sudan and Egypt. Certain it is that there were wars of both a defensive and an aggressive nature from at least the time of the twelfth dynasty.

As if to give body to our reflexions, we are passing within view of the temple of Dekka, which the Antiqui-

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BISHARIN TENTS AT ASSUAN.



THE EMBANKMENT AT WADI-HALFA.

To face page 9.

ties Department is about to strengthen, to enable it to withstand the pressure of the water that will be driven back there by the raising of the water-level of the Assuan Reservoirs. Is it credible that this temple could have been built where it stands, if the wretched village surrounding it to-day had not formerly been a rich and prosperous town?

Whilst we are discussing these questions that may one day be authoritatively settled by the results of the excavations in which but a start has been made during the past few years, time is passing, and we are becoming aware of the heat. The kindly light north-west wind in our wake is hardly strong enough to combat against the neutralising effect of the boat's motion, with the result that we are enjoying a real hot-house temperature which has already had the useful effect of curing the cold caught by Prof. Sayce when crossing the Mediterranean on his way out to Egypt.

12th November, 1908,
On board the "Sudan" between
Assuan and Wadi-Halfa.

Yesterday afternoon it was very hot, but towards evening the weather became cooler. To-day we are enjoying cool, clear, and calm weather. Last night the moon shone so brightly as to rival the light of full day. At about 4 a.m., having left my cabin to enjoy the sight, I saw, on the horizon, Jupiter as brilliant as a beacon-light; a little higher up in the heavens was Venus, still more brilliant, whilst in the neighbourhood of the zenith shone Mercury. The three planets were in a line perpendicular to the horizon, shining like three

Eddystone lights, and illuminating the sky, bathed though it already was in the silvery light of the setting moon.

At about 5 a.m. we stopped at Abu Simbel, which, according to my way of thinking, is the most beautiful and imposing monument in all Egypt. An hour and a half later we proceeded on our journey.

There were several passengers on board, all in the Sudan Government service with the exception of our two selves and an English lady with her daughter. About twenty-five of us were already known to one another, and we made the acquaintance of some young Egyptian officers; we therefore found the time pass most agreeably.

Speaking to me of the Berberins, the inhabitants of those parts as far south as Dongola, M. F. Effendi, an employee of the Sudan Railways, summed up their improvident and careless character in the following words: "I once knew a Berberin who, after having gained much money in Cairo, returned to his native place, bought some earthenware jars for his *sakia*, put them into position with the necessary equipment of wood and ropes, etc., planted maize in his fields, and then started the work of irrigation. After a few days one of the jars broke. *Ma'leish!*¹ Two more jars broke, then four, then eight—*ma'leish!! ma'leish!!!* Though all irrigation was now impossible, the *sakia* was kept turning—no water could be raised, for all the jars were broken! Off goes the Berberin to the Greek money-lender, and sells him his crop whilst yet green at a low figure. The Greek repairs the *sakia*, and reaps the maximum amount of profit from the field of maize that the Berberin had

¹ Never mind!



THE SECOND CATARACT, WADI-HALFA.



Photo. "The African World."

THE PUBLIC GARDENS, KHARTUM.



Photo. "The African World."
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THE COLOSSI OF ABU SIMBEL.

70. 1961
ALBONIAO

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TO VINI ABROGLAO



ATBARA STATION.



ATBARA BRIDGE.



THE ATBARA RIVER.

abandoned through lack of a little forethought and inability to keep his *sakia* in a state of repair."

At about one o'clock in the afternoon we reached Wadi-Halfa, and two hours later we continued our journey to Khartum, passing Berber at 7 a.m. on the 13th November, and Atbara at 8 p.m. Up to mid-day the weather was delightful, but in the afternoon it became exceedingly hot in the train.

Before reaching Shendi we saw, at about one o'clock, the series of pyramids of Meroë, which were discovered and described by F. Cailliaud somewhere about the year 1820.

Finally, after twenty-six hours of very comfortable travelling in the Sudan *train de luxe*, we arrived at Khartum at half-past five in the afternoon.

13th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

The evening of our arrival at Khartum a big dinner was given at the Palace, and so we were afforded an opportunity of meeting many old friends and making several new acquaintances. All the men we met have given up their lives to the work of conquering the Sudan and converting the Sudanese to civilisation, with the object of securing the general welfare of the people and their physical and moral progress. ✓

The Sirdar, known also as the Hâkim Aâm, a literal translation of "Governor-General," and not Hâkim Dar, as former governor-generals were called, stands out as the guiding-spirit of all the young and ardent souls around him, who, inspired by his will, march hand in hand to the conquest of barbarism—if I may be per-

mitted to so express myself—to transform it by their united efforts into a state of civilisation, to the advantage of the people themselves and of the world in general. During the progress of the dinner I felt as though I were in the midst of a band of lay missionaries whose object was to secure the peace and happiness of the world.

14th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

At the time of our arrival, practically the whole of the Government fleet of steamers were blocked in the *sadd* of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, so that our departure for the Blue Nile became a problematical matter. However, that very day, the Sirdar received a telegram which stated that the S.S. "Dal" had got free and was on its way back to Khartum. We were therefore informed that the 20th November would be the date of our departure. The fear of the Blue Nile having an insufficiency of water no longer existed; in fact, not for ten years past had the river been so high at the corresponding season of the year. Its waters had swollen during the months of August and September to such an extent as, at one moment, to give rise to the fear of Khartum being inundated.

Everything was consequently of good augury: we had a good boat, the Nile was high, and the heat which we had endured on the 11th, 12th, and 13th November, on which days the thermometer registered 40° and even 45° Centigrade,¹ had given place to a fresh north wind, so that between noon and five o'clock in the afternoon

¹ 40° C. = 104° F. ; 45° C. = 113° F.

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KHARTUM PALACE, FROM THE RIVER.



KHARTUM PALACE, FROM THE GARDEN.

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the temperature did not exceed 35° or 36° . We had, therefore, nothing to do but to leave things to themselves, and meanwhile, being lodged in the Palace, we were in the best possible position for making observations, and for noting the pulsations of the official heart of the Sudan.

Before proceeding further, seeing that I am on the subject of the official situation of the Sudan, I think it will not be out of place for me to quote the striking opinions of an intelligent Egyptian officer in the service of the Sudan Government, a young man from the province of Giza, born of a peasant father and a Circassian mother. At first a pupil in the Egyptian Government Primary Schools, and afterwards a cadet in the Military School at Cairo, he had, by his energy and perseverance, reached the rank of Bimbashi. M. F. Effendi thus delivered himself on the subject of the Sudan Railway Administration: "All branches of the service are worked by soldiers of the Egyptian battalions. They are paid from six to ten piastres per day according to whether they are privates or non-commissioned officers. In addition to their pay, they receive their uniform and rations free, and besides these advantages, they are taught to read and write Arabic, and trained to act as telegraphists, plate-layers, engine-drivers, stokers, blacksmiths, fitters, etc. After six years' military service, during which period they have learned a profession, those of them who are active and intelligent frequently opt for the Sudan Civil Service instead of claiming their discharge, for in this service they gain at the start from six to ten Egyptian pounds a month, and if they have a knowledge of English—which many of them acquire whilst in the Army—they receive still

higher pay. The moment they are enrolled in the Civil Service they send for their families to join them in the Sudan, whilst the unmarried men start off for their native village in Egypt to marry. They soon return with their wives and settle down in the Sudan without any intention of going back to their native land. I even know many who, as soon as they are freed from their military service, return to Egypt to sell the bit of land they own there, and with the proceeds of the sale buy either land or houses in the Sudan, and seem to be perfectly satisfied with their choice.

"Thus the Army," he added, "from this point of view, becomes a school for those who have seen nothing of life but the tails of their cows and buffaloes, and who ultimately rise to a position which secures to their children easier circumstances, and a wider outlook upon life."

I ought to say that on disembarking at Wadi-Halfa we were met by Captain Wood, the Governor of the town, and by the Headmaster of the School, both of whom kindly placed their services at our disposal.

From the residents I heard the same complaints as I had heard in 1902—no water! I presume that it has been a matter of impossibility to find funds sufficient for the erection of a steam-pump. Regarded only as a town on the way to Khartum, Wadi-Halfa is stationary, nevertheless a slight increase of activity is observable. The School is well attended, and the inhabitants appear better-off and more energetic.

What is really a marvel is Atbara Station, the mere creation of the railway! It is the junction of the "Wadi-Halfa to Khartum" and the "Port Sudan to Khartum" lines. During our wait of an hour there,



KHARTUM PALACE, FROM THE SOUTH.



KHARTUM PALACE, FROM THE WEST.

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TO THE
LIBRARY

Captain Midwinter, Chief of the Sudan Railways, gave me much information respecting the workshops, houses, villas, workmen's cottages, and even the little Anglican Church, all of which "shot out from the ground," as it were, in the short space of about four years. The number of workmen, foremen, engineers, etc., employed there amounts to not less than 1500, and the town is pleasantly situated between the Atbara and the Nile.

A few hours later, before arriving at Shendi, we saw at the foot of a hill of black granite, the pyramids of the negro kings of Meroë. Shendi acquires a little animation from the presence of the cavalry that are quartered in it. It is there that King Nimr of Shendi put an end, by fire and smoke, to the son of Mohammed Ali Pasha, Ismail Bey, the conqueror of the Sudan. But who remembers this? The only one that could give me any information on the subject of that tragedy was Slatin Pasha. No one else, be he Arab or Englishman, has been able to inform me of the place where the Prince and his officers and Mamelukes were burnt alive by the dispossessed Nimr at Shendi.

At Khartum, on the other hand, everything is *à la Gordon*. The palace, where he was assassinated, and which had been destroyed, is now rebuilt. On the spot where his massacre is supposed to have taken place is a superb, well-kept rose-tree, whose red blooms are witness of the blood that has watered it. In the boulevard that bears his name is his statue. But at Shendi not even the name of Ismail Bey is remembered! . . .

The nations that honour their great men are the only nations that can be called great!

15th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

This morning Lady Wingate arrived with the Sirdar, who brought us news of the change of Ministry in Cairo. Mustafa Pasha Fehmi and his colleagues having resigned office, Butros Pasha Ghali has been appointed Prime Minister and entrusted with the task of forming a new Cabinet.

As soon as we had arrived in Khartum I, who had already been there in 1902, perceived a change for the better. Everything has a more finished appearance : the quays, streets, plantations, houses are all more in accordance with what we picture in our minds when we speak of a civilised town. The majority of the streets are wide, macadamised, and lined with pavements and trees. There is an excellent system of lighting, and tramcars ply through the chief arteries of traffic, connecting the ferry-boats of Omdurman with those of Halfiya or North Khartum.

A bridge over the Blue Nile is in course of construction, and engineers have already surveyed the ground for a railway-line to connect the Gezira and Kordofan. In a few years the line will be an accomplished fact.

As regards moral progress, the advance is still more marked ; to satisfy oneself of this, one has but to pay a visit to the Gordon College. It numbers from two to three hundred pupils of different origin and nationality, distributed throughout the various sections of the College, which comprises an elementary school, a higher-grade school, a school of practical architecture and surveying, a school of applied mechanics, a training college



*Kitty Wingate
Kitts 1907*

LADY WINGATE.

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TO THE
LIBRARY

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THE GORDON COLLEGE.



THE BRITISH BARRACKS.

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for Arabic teachers, and a school for câdis.¹ The whole institution is under the able management of Mr. James Currie. From year to year distinct progress is made, for, by the common consent of both Englishmen and natives, the pupils who leave in any given year are always superior to their predecessors of the preceding year, a state of affairs which may be regarded as most encouraging to all parties concerned.

The teaching-staff is the only trouble at present, inasmuch as teachers must, for a long time to come, be drawn from Egypt, and the abhorrence felt by Egyptians for the Sudan is only equalled by their love of money. By monetary inducements alone can teachers be enticed to the Sudan, a fact which renders their recruitment extremely difficult, and it must also be added that Egypt does not yet provide sufficient teachers to meet her own needs. This is a very serious question for both the Sudan and Egypt, and no definite solution of the difficulty is likely to be arrived at until the services rendered by teachers are remunerated by salaries high enough to attract more men into the profession, and their merit and length of service recognised in such a way as to keep them in it once they have found their way there.

So long, however, as teachers are insufficiently paid, they will always try to better their lot and to secure their future by looking out for posts in other branches of the public service. With the constant changes that necessarily ensue in the teaching staff, it is impossible to secure continuity in the work, yet, in spite of all these causes that militate against success, the progress already achieved is most encouraging, and the work goes on regularly and well.

¹ Judges of the Moslem Courts.

One curious fact I have observed is that, whilst the School is attended by Arab and Negro Sudanese, Egyptians, Copts, Abyssinians, and even one Persian, there is not a single Turk. In 1902 there were several Turks; to-day there remains not one. Prof. Sayce is right in defining the Sudan south of the 25th degree of latitude as "No white man's country."

Captain Amery, of the Intelligence Department, tells me that for some time past, more especially since the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, he has frequently been requested by Turks who have long been established in the Sudan to secure their repatriation to Turkey. "Only yesterday," said he, "I was visited in my office by two old Turks, formerly Bashi-Bazuks, who insisted upon being repatriated. Wishing to learn the reason for their request, 'How is it,' I asked, 'that you have remained here so long and never before thought of going away?' 'At home,' they replied (as had done their predecessors), 'the Constitution has been proclaimed, and we can now safely return. Nobody will bother us about our past, whereas had we returned only a few months ago even, we should have been arrested as deserters or on some other pretext.' Each of these men is 70 years old. They will both be sent back to Turkey with their children. The wives in such cases, being blacks, never wish to go away; they remain in the Sudan at the disposal of a new husband."

What a life these Turks lived! Afraid to return to their own country because of a shameless government that tyrannised over everybody and everything! What a life! To civilise men is alas! a work not of centuries, but of ages! . . .

By the way, seeing that I am dealing with the subject

of barbarism and savagery, I must relate an incident that occurred recently in the great forest country of the Congo.

For reasons that it would take me needlessly long to explain, the Congo Government prevents its merchants and officials from returning to Europe by the Nile route, even from the Lado Enclave from which the journey to Europe lasts but fifteen days or three weeks. This route being closed to them, they are obliged to follow the Congo route, which means that it requires six months for them to reach Boma, whence they proceed to Belgium by Belgian steamers.

The following, then, is the tragedy related to me. The former governor of Lado, of the name of Renouard I believe, started off on his return home at the end of his period of service. Naturally, instead of returning *via* the Nile, he had to return *via* the Congo. On the way down the river the black sailors on his boat mutinied and massacred all on board, with the exception of Governor Renouard and the engineer, who had the good fortune to escape the fate of their fellows by jumping into the water and swimming to shore. Once on land they made for the forest, where they hid themselves; the engineer succeeded in climbing up into a tree, but Renouard, being unable to follow suit, tried to hide under the leaves at the foot of the tree. By-and-by, the mutinous blacks, who were on the track of the fugitives, discovered him, and, under the eyes of the engineer, cut him up and ate him alive. For two whole days they remained at the foot of the tree eating the poor governor's body, and only went off when they had completed their cannibal act. The engineer had just enough strength left to get down from the tree and find

his way to a military-post, where he reported the sad affair.

When will such a people become civilised? If thousands of years have as yet failed to civilise them, are we justified in expecting that thousands more will be effective? And besides, is the material and moral progress of civilisation a constant quantity? When these people reach a period of civilisation, may not other peoples, who at present call them (the blacks) barbarians, themselves fall back into barbarism and savagery in their turn?

Adam and Eve were indeed very wrong to disobey their Creator! . . .

Our trip up the Blue Nile, on the S.S. "Dal," to Roseires and back, occupied about twenty days, and cost the two of us a hundred pounds. This sum is, however, exclusive of the cost of beds, chairs, mosquito-nets, etc., etc., all of which articles were kindly placed at our disposal by the Sirdar.

It is a rather costly trip, but if one only reflects on the difficulties and fatigue such a journey would have entailed less than ten years ago, leaving out of consideration its then cost, one can only express astonishment at the progress accomplished in all directions since the reconquest of the Sudan.

The common people, here as elsewhere, are constantly on the move, hence the tramcars are always full. The combined tramway and ferry-boat service, which secures the conveyance of animals and carts along with their owners, is much in favour with the public. I am told that it is the most profitable commercial undertaking of the Government. It yields a good revenue, and the

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Photo, "The African World."

THE CARAVANSERAI, EL DUEN.



Photo, "The African World."

A KHARTUM TRAM.



Photo, "The African World."

INTERESTED SPECTATORS, EL DUEN.

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benefit it represents to the public may be realised when I mention that the latter travel, by the combined system, several kilometres at the cost of a piastre.

Infallible evidence of the reviving life and extending prosperity of the country is afforded by the constantly-growing number of railway passengers. At the outset of affairs the settled or Negro Arabs, and the nomadic or Beduin Arabs, avoided travelling by rail; they preferred to employ their camels or asses, or even to proceed on foot, in travelling from place to place. The Railway Administration had, however, the brilliant idea of creating a fourth class of railway-travelling, the price of which was so fixed as to harmonise with the limited spending power of the Sudanese. From the time that this innovation was introduced, the fourth class became fuller and fuller, and, as a result, it has been found—according to the information given me by Midwinter Bey, whose statements others have corroborated—that the Sudan Railway receipts alone showed neither retrogression nor stagnation during the recent period of financial crisis in Egypt and the Sudan; on the contrary, they even showed an increase on the takings of previous years.

At lunch this morning Mr. and Mrs. Broun were present, Mr. Broun being a botanist engaged by the Government as the Conservator of Forests. In the south he has started india-rubber plantations which it seems are doing very well, and to which he is on the point of paying a visit of inspection. His wife, who is credited with being a better botanist than he, always accompanies him on his travels, and does all the microscopical work, as well as that of writing up notes. She dresses as a man in travelling, is expert with the rifle

and revolver, and gets out of difficulties as no one else can. They are to start off at two o'clock for Gondokoro on the White Nile, to inspect the experimental india-rubber plantations which the Government has established all along the banks of the White Nile.

It seems that on the Italian and Abyssinian frontiers, on the banks of the Blue Nile, there are immense forests of magnificent species of trees, and that similar forests, still vaster in extent and more beautiful in appearance, exist in the region of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. These are reserve products which, the moment the necessary means of transport in the shape of railways and canals are brought into existence, will be worked to the greatest advantage. Meanwhile a Forest Department has been created, whose functions are to catalogue the arboreal wealth of the country, and to prevent the destruction of trees by fire or by the stupid, unreasoning, and unnecessary felling of them by savage tribes.

16th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

Last night Slatin Pasha was dining at the Palace. Speaking of Ismail Bey, who was killed at Shendi, "The exact spot where Ismail Bey was suffocated to death is perfectly well known, and is even shown at Shendi," said he. "At the time of my first visit in 1878 I met several old men who were living in Shendi and who remembered the event, as they had witnessed the actual burning. The official version of the incident is that Nimr, the Sultan of Shendi, of the Ja'alin tribe, having been defeated by Ismail Bey in 1819, had, with his Ja'alin troops, to accompany the latter in his campaign

against the Fung kings of Sennaar. On their return from this campaign in 1822, the Prince asked Nimr to supply straw and corn for the feeding of the two thousand transport camels. Observing that the Prince, whose army was now in diminished numbers and suffering from fatigue, felt more or less discouraged, Nimr considered the moment favourable for avenging himself for all the mortification he had had to endure, and gave orders that the Prince's command should be obeyed. Around the *tukul* (kraal) occupied by the Prince he had the straw placed in a circle, like a wall of circumvallation, and a little before the Prince had finished dinner, just when the drinks were going round the table, and whilst the band was playing, he ordered the straw to be set on fire. The Prince, with all the officers and Mamelukes in his train, was suffocated by the smoke and flames and by the carbonic-acid gas which arose from the furnace. The army that surrounded the Prince was, at the same moment, attacked unawares by the Ja'alín, but having repulsed the attack, they proceeded to the rescue of the Prince. When at last the fire was got under, and they were able to enter the *tukul*, they found the Prince's body surrounded, as with a rampart, by the bodies of his officers and Mamelukes who had grouped themselves around him; all of them had been asphyxiated, and some of the bodies were reduced to carbon. The Prince's body was transported to Cairo, where it was interred in the mosque of Imam Sháfeí."

But at Shendi itself Slatin Pasha gathered another version, which doubtless owes its origin to the popular imagination. It is to the effect that, having heard that King Nimr had a very pretty daughter, the Prince fell in love with her at the mere mention of her beauty.

He, therefore, commanded Nimr to bring her before him, but Nimr, before complying with the order, asked whether it was to marry her that he required her presence. Furious at this impertinence, the Prince caused Nimr to be beaten, and the girl to be dragged to him. It was then that Nimr swore to take the Prince's life, and by patient effort he carried his plans into execution. Amongst his tribesmen he found all the willing support he could hope for. "The Prince has taken from us," said they to themselves, "our beasts of burden, our lands, and ourselves; but he will not take our honour except at the price of his life." They all thought of their wives, and of their daughters who at any moment might share the fate of Nimr's daughter. The rest of the popular version agrees with the official story in regard to the supply of straw and the subsequent conflagration.

As I have already indicated, this version is but the result of an afterthought, like the story of Lucretia, and many others of a similar nature. A people loves to poetise its worst deeds, and as vengeance is a virtue of the gods, the beautiful face of a virgin with whom everybody is supposed to be in love, whom everybody is supposed to defend, and under whose auspices liberty is gained, is conjured up to illuminate the story of wrong.

Whatever may be the rights of the case, the fact remains that, as a consequence of such a barbarous act, there ensued a revolt of the tribesmen against the Turks, and this in its turn was followed by the still more barbarous revenge enacted by the son-in-law of Mohammed Ali, the terrible Ahmed Bey Defterdar, who was, at the time, in Kordofan. In the struggle King Nimr lost his life, and his family and tribe the throne. The survivors



THE FRONT AVENUE, KHARTUM (WEST).



THE FRONT AVENUE, KHARTUM.



THE FRONT AVENUE, KHARTUM.

to the
Algebra

fled to Abyssinia, where they lived in exile until quite recently. The grandsons of Nimr, who returned to the Sudan after the defeat of Abdulla el Tâishi, the Khalifa, have settled in the province of Kassala, where they earn a rather miserable pittance by trading and farming, and owe their freedom, after more than eighty years of exile, to the grace of the Anglo-Egyptian Government.

This morning (16th Nov.) when we went to the Stores to procure beds, bed-linen, mosquito-nets, etc., we found these requisites quite out of stock, a new supply not being expected before the end of the month. We, therefore, proceeded to the Gordon College to visit the Museum and the Laboratories that are devoted to research work in tropical diseases, as on a previous visit we had been unable to complete our tour of inspection.

The Sirdar had lent us his steam-launch ; the weather was delightful, there being a very strong, cool north wind, whose force caused the river water to be quite agitated. Here, as in Alexandria, one only feels cool when there is a north wind blowing and when one is in a current of air. Night and day the air is as dry as that of a furnace, and without the beneficent north wind one would always be hot.

At the College we saw Balfour and his bacteriological collections, his anatomical preparations, and the research work he is doing on the causes of tropical maladies. He showed us his collection of mosquitoes, of which he has made a complete study. It is to him that Khartum is indebted for its immunity from fever, owing to the riddance of mosquitoes effected by his efforts. If only for his having rendered Khartum habitable, a deep debt of gratitude must be paid to Dr. Balfour.

We also visited the Sudan Museum of Archæology

and Ethnology, where Prof. Sayce was interested to find Meroitic and Gebel Barkal inscriptions. There were also funerary inscriptions in the Cufic Arabic of the fourth century (the tenth of the Christian era), which inscriptions had been brought from the Red Sea coast in the neighbourhood of Suakin. The Museum has made a most interesting start in archæological exhibits; its Meroitic inscriptions differ from those in Egypt, and are as yet undeciphered.

Balfour and his colleagues are indefatigable workers, and have much to show as the result of their labours. At present they are investigating sleeping-sickness, and another malady, the existence of which in the Sudan has only recently been observed. It is the Kala'a Zar, or Zara Kala'a, or Zuru Kala'a, quite a new type of disease so far as the experience of these gentlemen is concerned. It is probably another disease due to the action of microbes.

Living as he is in the midst of all these microbes, Dr. Balfour, half-laughingly, said to me, "It is a source of perpetual surprise to me how the human race manages to exist, and even thrive, surrounded as we are by microbes."

This important laboratory owes its foundation in 1902 to the generosity of Mr. Wellcome (of Burroughs and Wellcome fame), and for this reason it is known as the Wellcome Research Laboratory. Recently the building was burnt down by fire, but the generous donor came to the rescue of the College, and not only did he repair the damage done to the building, but he also replaced the burnt or damaged objects. What, however, he was unfortunately unable to replace was the collection of anatomical and bacteriological preparations

of the distinguished and modest scientists who had laboured to secure them, and who cannot but deplore their great loss. They even could not refer to the subject in conversation without making it felt how much they suffered at the thought of all they had lost. The attachment of a savant for the creation of his brain, work which entails an enormous expenditure of both money and time, a vast amount of patient observation, and the triumphing over all obstacles, can quite easily be appreciated.

18th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

At the evening service yesterday the Professor preached on divine patience. He spoke of the slow formation of coal from the wood of the forests, which are themselves vast reservoirs for the accumulation in their trees of heat and light. After countless centuries all the accumulated force produces civilisation, for during the life of mankind, God patiently taught man science, step by step, until there came the day when He taught him how to employ these reserves of force. From the day when man discovered the use of fire to the day when he applied it to advance the civilisation of our own times, how great a period has elapsed! The patience shown by God must, therefore, surely inspire us with that virtue in all our individual and collective actions. Here in the Sudan is one of these actions, in the execution of which patience is perhaps more necessary than anywhere else to lead the peoples who inhabit the country to the enjoyment of the benefits of the civilisation we offer them. The Chapel was full, and

every one seemed moved by and interested in the sermon, for all present understood perfectly well the merits of patience in the work committed to their respective charges.

This morning (Monday) I have visited the Law Courts with Bonham Carter. I met the Grand Cadi, an Egyptian, and the Mufti, a Sudanese Arab. The face of the latter is extremely interesting. He is a man who served the Khalifa as preceptor to his son. In reply to a question of mine as to whether the Khalifa was intelligent or not, he said, "He could neither read nor write, but when he conferred upon me the honour of instructing his son in arts and law, he said, 'I confide my son here to you ; teach him as though he were your own son. He is badly brought up, being the son of a powerful Khalifa ; be patient with him, and if in his ignorance he offends you, remember that he is ignorant, and that an ignorant man can never offend a man of learning.'" The Mufti added, "I read later, in the *Life of Moawiya*, that the latter had used practically the same language to his son's preceptor."

I find that, in spite of everything, the Arabs revere the memory of the Mahdi and the Khalifa. Are they not martyrs? Had they been victorious it would clearly be because God fought on their side, and gave them victory over their enemies. But they are vanquished and slain, therefore are they martyrs who fell fighting for their God! The people almost adore them ; they hate the enemy, whoever he may be, but most of all when he is a foreigner.

Whatever may be done for their material or moral good, they meet all such effort with nothing but reserve.

Here in the Sudan the Arabs always live under tribal



THE MOSQUE, KHARTUM.



THE LAW COURTS, KHARTUM.

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A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.

law, just as they do in their mother country, Arabia. The ancient bond of union that united the Arabs is not destroyed: it is only transformed into agglomerations whose ferment is religion. The people here detest the Turks and, above all, the Egyptians, in spite of the fact that both these are Moslem. The reason for this dislike is simply that the Turks and Egyptians cannot be regarded by them as Arabs. Towards the English there is a feeling of reserve. In 1902, at the time of my first trip, the English were dubbed Christian Turks; to-day they are simply spoken of as Christians (*Nusrāni*, plural *Nassāra*).

The Mufti, a Sudanese Arab, very bright and intelligent in spite of his advanced age, winked significantly when the Grand Cadi was engaged in explaining to me that the laws in the Sudan are more in harmony with Koranic justice and equity than those of Egypt. He enlarged upon this topic, expressing himself all the while in an Arabic easily comprehensible by Bonham Carter, his chief. Meanwhile the Mufti, who is no less of a courtier than the Grand Cadi, seemed to be highly amused within himself at what he regarded as the platitudes of the latter.

In the office of the Irrigation Department I saw Mr. Dupuis, who showed me plans of public works, some of which are already in course of construction. In the latter category is the railway from Khartum *via* Sennaar and Goz Abu Guma'a to El Obeid. Mr. Dupuis hopes that, in a year or two, there will be railway communication with El Duem, and, in perhaps four or five years, with El Obeid. Work upon the bridge over the White Nile at Goz Abu Guma'a will be started at the beginning of next year. The great project of drying up Lake No

will be begun in about a year; already one of the dredgers required for the work has arrived, and its parts will be put together at Khartum for transportation to the neighbourhood of the lake. By its means the Bahr el Ziraf is to be deepened sufficiently to permit of the waters of Lake No being drained off into the Nile. Dredging will begin in the south, somewhere between Bor and Shamba, and will end in the Nile at Taufikia. The scheme means several thousands of millions of cubic metres of extra water for Egypt when the Nile is low.

Another scheme of great importance to the Sudan is that of an irrigation canal along the west bank of the Blue Nile for the irrigation of land in the Gezira. This canal will go from Sennaar, where the Nile will be dammed, to the White Nile in the districts south of Khartum, and will run parallel to the railway line. It will have a capacity equal to providing water for the irrigation of 500,000 acres of the most fertile land in the Gezira.

"All these works will cost money—indeed, much money," said Mr. Dupuis, "and the Egyptians will not fail to say that the money of Egypt is being squandered to exploit the Sudan, which they pretend is no other than a British Colony. But as these works are destined to increase the amount of water obtainable from the Nile, and as by means of them a savage country lying fallow will become civilised and cultivated, of what will our descendants have to complain? And how could they be angry with the Egyptians of the present day for having, by the financial assistance the latter are now rendering the Sudan, materially developed this waste country? Egyptians, in generations to come, will have as their possession a rich country populated by people

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THE NILE, BY THE FRONT AVENUE.



THE FRONT AVENUE, FROM THE RIVER.



THE FRONT AVENUE, KHARTUM (EAST).

who will prove useful neighbours, instead of a miserable desert country inhabited by pillaging tribes that are absolutely useless—nay, even harmful.”

I agree with Dupuis, but, in order to follow his reasoning, one must know the Sudan as he knows it, and to adopt his ideas one must at least possess his scientific knowledge.

After leaving Dupuis' office I went off to my banker, Mr. Albert Singer, a man whose life has been one long series of adventures. Active and intelligent, he is a perfect type of colonist who relies on himself alone. He gives it as his opinion that no company of shareholders will be able to succeed in the Sudan because of the enormous expenses of such bodies, and also because of the tendency of the Anglo-Egyptian Government to monopolise everything : Nile boats, railways, ferry-boats, water-supply, lighting, gum, elephants' tusks, cultivation even—everything is so regulated as to cause all sources of revenue to converge into the exchequers of the Government, which is the head of a vast monopoly, and which crushes all individual enterprise. ✓

Whilst listening to him I remembered conversations I had had in Egypt with men of an older generation than mine, men who had taken part in the regeneration of Egypt at the beginning of the nineteenth century, in the reign of Mohammed Ali. Similar causes inevitably produce similar effects!

Mohammed Ali secured a monopoly of everything. Wishing to establish order in place of the disorder that reigned supreme in Egypt, he realised the need of a military form of government to centralise all power and crush his enemies. Every branch of commerce was suffering from timidity and, therefore, to stimulate con-

fidence and secure development he created a trade monopoly which now, after the lapse of sixty years, no longer exists, but, taking all things into consideration, his plan assured the development of agriculture, trade, and what few industries are carried on in the country. Thus it is that Mohammed Ali, the benevolent despot and greatest man of the last century, created Egypt entirely.

In our own time, the English, imbued though they be with ideas of free trade and of individual and personal enterprise, finding themselves in the Sudan under conditions and circumstances similar to those that existed in Egypt in Mohammed Ali's time, are applying his methods: military government, a state of continual siege, monopoly of trade, etc., exactly as he did save that in the application thereof the civilised ways of modern rulers make themselves felt.

I do not wish in any way whatever to establish a parallel between Mohammed Ali and Sir Reginald Wingate, nevertheless I trust I may remark that, whereas Mohammed Ali created everything in Egypt out of nothing, Sir Reginald Wingate has had the advantage of the moral support of England and the financial and material aid of Egypt. Mr. Singer further observed, "I do not count upon the natives; that would be too risky a business, for they lack good faith and are devilishly litigious. The moment you get caught in the wheels of the law machine, it is the natives that come off well . . . politics sees to that."

This is how Mr. Singer, who, as I have already remarked, is an excellent colonist, looks upon matters connected with the interests he is out here to further. It must not be imagined, however, that he does not make

profits; on the contrary, he is very well satisfied with affairs. He controls a flotilla of both sailing-boats and steamboats for the conveyance of goods along the two Niles, and at Omdurman he advances money on merchandise to wholesale merchants. He informed me that practically the whole of the gum trade is in the hands of Egyptians, especially Christian Egyptians, Copts, of whom there are very many in the Sudan, but these men lack the spirit of association and public spirit possessed by the Greeks. ✓

The Sirdar told me that he had granted to the Coptic community a site on which to build a church, on condition that the edifice should be erected within two years. Eighteen months later, seeing that nothing had been done, he telegraphed to the Coptic Patriarch in Cairo to say that if, within the next six months, the building were not commenced, the site would revert to the Government. The Patriarch wired back the same day, saying, "I am starting for Khartum with £E5000, the sum required to build the church." "As a matter of fact," said the Sirdar, "he set out without a penny, but fifteen days later he deposited £E5000 in the bank and brought me the receipt."

The church is now built, thanks to the Patriarch and a number of generous donors, but by no means to the Khartum Coptic community, whose members would never have come to any agreement had they been left to themselves. ✓

In the afternoon we proceeded twelve miles above Khartum by the Sirdar's steamboat, to Soba on the Blue Nile. Up to the fifteenth or sixteenth century Soba was the seat of a powerful Christian empire called by the natives Anak, which was completely destroyed by the

Fung conquerors, who established the Sennaar empire somewhere about the sixteenth century. Bruce and Cailliaud make references to this subject.

The town lies in a desolate plain covered with stones and débris of bricks, with here and there a few knolls. One of these knolls was excavated by Bishop Gwynne, who found in it several marble columns and basket-shaped Byzantine Coptic capitals with Coptic crosses. There is no inscription to assist in fixing the date, but in all likelihood the construction goes back to the seventh or eighth century. It is possible that, in the course of time, some learned society or university may carry out excavations in this spot. Every one conversant with the matter is of opinion that the trouble and expense incurred in such work would meet with abundant reward. It may even happen that when the Government is rich enough it will undertake the work at its own expense.

We set out on this expedition from Khartum at two o'clock, and were back at seven. During the whole time of our excursion the weather was perfectly delightful, the sunset being splendid and the night marvellously clear. The Khartum wharfs, illuminated as they are for a length of several kilometres, produced quite a magical effect.

Prof. Sayce, whom the sight of this ruined town, where no vestige of the past is visible on the surface, had excited beyond measure, expatiated at length on some bricks and bits of broken pottery that he had picked up. The only stone with an inscription ever found in this place, the inscription being in Graeco-Coptic characters, as on a bronze vessel also found there, was sent by Lepsius in about the year 1840 to the Berlin Museum. As the language has never yet been deciphered, the inscription still remains unread.

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A PRETTY PEEP IN KHARTUM.



A SÂKIA AT WORK IN KHARTUM.

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I have paid a visit to Monseigneur F. H. Geyer, Bishop of the Sudan Mission of Verona. He is a man of a charmingly frank character, and a Bavarian by birth. This Missionary Society possesses a church and school at Khartum, another school at Omdurman, and mission stations on the White Nile and the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The Bishop entertains the greatest respect and friendship for Sir Reginald Wingate.

Like their brethren the American and English missionaries, the Verona missionaries are not allowed to proselytise in the Moslem parts of the Sudan, but only in those districts where there are natives given up to fetichism or heathenism, and each category of missionaries has its zone of operations marked out by the Government. It appears that certain Moslems of Cairo also bestirred themselves to secure a zone for missionary enterprise, and the Government replied that all they had to do was to send the missionaries, who would have meted out to them the same facilities as the Christian missionaries, but as the necessary organisation was non-existent, the matter dropped.

In these parts, as elsewhere, Islamism spread, after the conquest of the country in the thirteenth century, owing to the preferential treatment of Moslems in the matter of taxation, and to the superior social status of Moslems in comparison with non-Moslems. These causes induced many non-Moslems to become Moslems, and, moreover, Islam made many converts in Central Africa in virtue of its being introduced by slave merchants and of its toleration of slavery. The same kind of propaganda is still carried on in Africa.

In the Wau district of the Bahr-el-Ghazal province, a great trading centre, a kind of propaganda by marriage,

if not by slavery, is actively employed. Christian missionaries have opened their hearts to the Sirdar and complained that this kind of proselytism counteracts their own efforts. The answer of the Government has always been what it ought to be, namely, that the State cannot take up a position either for or against any missionary body.

One great factor in Moslem propaganda in the Sudan is the army, inasmuch as every heathen negro enrolled in one of the black battalions is first circumcised, then taught the Moslem creed—in most cases the first Arabic he learns—and lo! he is a Moslem. In the vast majority of cases such a convert ages and dies without getting a step farther in either the spirit or even the letter of Islamism.

As for the Christian missions amongst the Shilluks, the Dinkas, the Baris, the Niam-Niams, etc., they seem to be a deception from the point of view of Christianity. So long as the converts are in the hands of the missionaries they are Christians to outward appearance, but the moment they resume their ordinary avocations and join the crowd, their surroundings tell upon them, and they return to their superstitions. The most difficult to convert are the women, especially the Shilluk women, who are extremely independent. Moslems they especially detest, and I have been assured that a Shilluk woman would rather die than marry a Moslem, even though he were a Shilluk, so great is the Shilluk women's horror of the Arabs, as they style the Moslems. The Arabs appear to them as stealers of women and children, in fact, as the ancient slave merchants.

The Shilluks, Dinkas, Baris, and other tribes that inhabit the banks of the White Nile to the south of

Dueem have no wants. "We cannot get them to adopt our customs, consequently they know no wants; how then can we get them to adopt our ideas?" said Mathews Bey, governor of the Bahr-el-Abyad province.

On this subject Monseigneur Geyer likewise had something to say. "We baptise them as seldom and as late as possible, but in good earnest after they have given sufficient proof of perseverance in Christian conduct. In cases where on account of illness or old age they are near their end we always baptise them, otherwise we act with extreme circumspection. It would by no means be astonishing to find that, under such circumstances, to these people baptism is a kind of fetich or an act of magic."

The American missionaries at Doleib Hill near the confluence of the Sobat are more practical. They devote themselves to teaching these savages the value of work, and endeavour to gain the confidence of their converts by all sorts of material benefits which appeal to their senses and understanding. Sentiment and faith, they hope, will come later.

I am told that the least successful so far are the Anglican missionaries at Bor. In the first place, they were the last to arrive; then the district where they have settled is more unhealthy for white men than the districts where their confrères are; and in the last place, the tribes with whom they come into contact are more savage than those amongst whom the other missionaries are labouring.

From all this it is perfectly clear that the efforts of the missionaries are but a drop of clear water in a sea of black ink! . . . Perseverance and time will alone tell; the drops of water may, by endless multiplication, whiten and clarify the sea of black ink.

Mathews Bey says that the code of morals of these tribes is such as ought by contrast to bring a blush of shame to the cheeks of people both in the Christian West and in civilised Moslem lands. Liars, thieves, and murderers are unknown. Trial by ordeal, or the judgment of God, awaits those who offend modesty, commit adultery, or carry off young girls, etc. Those who are accused of such crimes are cast into the Nile, and if they are seized by crocodiles their guilt is considered proved. These people believe just as firmly in this judgment of God as did our ancestors, the barbarians of the West, during the fifth and sixth centuries, in ordeal by fire, water, etc., in trials for similar crimes.

19th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

The Anglican Church has a "Church Mission School" for young girls here, which we have visited. It has more than eighty girls—Copts, Moslems, blacks and whites. There is a similar school at Omdurman. The nuns of Verona have also two girls' schools, which the daughters of Catholic families prefer to attend.

Whenever any one of these Christian schools, no matter what may be its denomination, accepts a pupil of another denomination or of a different religion as, for example, the Moslem and Jewish religions, it is bound to demand from the parents a letter in which the parents express themselves as voluntarily desirous that their daughters should attend the school and be present in all the classes save those where religion is taught. This is a very wise measure, especially as it affects the Moslems, Jews, Copts, and followers of the Greek Orthodox



WOMEN CARRYING WATER.



KHARTUM MARKET.



KHARTUM PUBLIC GARDEN.

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to view
Albuquerque

Church that wish to profit by the instruction given in the schools so as to secure for their daughters a knowledge of Arabic and English.

20th November, 1908,
Khartum Palace.

Last night we dined with Slatin Pasha, who is about to start off for Kordofan. Prof. Sayce interested everyone present with the account he gave of our trip to Soba.

After lunch to-day we went on board the S.S. "Dal," accompanied by the Sirdar and Slatin Pasha, who came to see that we were comfortably installed. Before embarking we came upon a small squadron of a camel-corps of Shakias on their way back from Sinai, where they were sent at the time of the delimitation of the frontier between Turkey and Egypt. The officer in charge, an Egyptian sub-lieutenant, halted his men and dismounted from his camel to kiss respectfully the Sirdar's hand, and to give him a brief report of their journey. The men, who were sixteen in number and of excellent deportment, were a pleasure to behold because of their martial appearance. These Shakias are the descendants of the Shakias south of Dongola, whose submission gave much trouble to Ismail Bey when he passed through their country in 1819 on his way to conquer the Sudan. Since that time they, with the Shukrias on the Blue Nile, have proved themselves the best of allies to the Sudan Government.

ON THE BLUE NILE

20th NOVEMBER, 1908—7th DECEMBER, 1908

DAY OF COLUMBA



THE GOVERNOR'S BOAT ("THE ELFIN") ON THE BLUE NILE.



WAITING TO RECEIVE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AT RUFA'A
ON THE BLUE NILE

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On the Blue Nile,
S.S. "Dal,"
21st November, 1908.

We started off yesterday at midday on the "Dal," a small but very comfortable double-decked stern-wheeler. In the bottom of the boat are the kitchen, pantry, and other kitchen dependencies, engines, etc. On the lower deck, in the after-part of the boat, are the first-class cabins. The Sirdar has kindly had one of the public rooms on this deck fitted up for our reception with a table, carpet, armchairs, etc., so that we may make use of it as a study.

In the fore-part of the boat is the dining-room, which we use as a side-room and pantry, seeing that we have our meals served in the open air, in the middle of the deck, between the rooms fore and aft. Right in the front are a few second-class cabins.

On the upper deck are the captain's quarters.

In the after-part of the lower deck is a cage of wire gauze, within which passengers may eat and sleep during the mosquito season. The Sirdar has had two *angarebs*¹ placed there for us to sleep on at night, as the cabins are intolerably hot at this period of the year.

This morning I woke at 4 a.m., and from my bed was able to see the Southern Cross. When I tell you

¹ Sudanese beds made of wicker-work.

that we have electric light on board, and that everything—cabins, deck, baths, etc.—is scrupulously clean, I need say nothing more as to the boat itself.

The "Dal" has two barges trailing on either side, that on the starboard being a double-decker full of passengers, and that on the larboard a single-decker.

To those who are accustomed to travelling in the East, there is nothing remarkable in the easy way in which each passenger settles down quietly in a small space, takes a seat on deck, stretches himself out to sleep, washes, prepares his food, etc., all without the slightest appearance of embarrassment or of disturbing others. In the upper deck of the barge, just in front of my cabin, are a number of ladies and children, apparently belonging to some rich merchant of consequence. Curtains have been fixed up so as to secure for the party a certain amount of seclusion. The ladies are extremely modest, and the children very quiet, well brought-up, and particularly clean. The ladies wear only a *milâya*, a kind of white linen sheet, which covers the body but leaves exposed the bosom and the right arm. The children wear a blue or a white *galabia*.¹ The ladies' hair is plaited into a thousand plaits, resembling the wigs of the ancient Egyptians. On the lower deck the women prepare the food near to a fireplace built up of four huge, roughly-squared stones. One woman has just finished grinding *durra*² to make bread from its flour and, as I watched her, I felt myself transported thousands of years back into history. She is a young negress, robust and well-proportioned. Kneeling in front of a huge, hollowed-out stone, and holding in both hands a round stone, the upper part of her body

¹ A long loose robe.

² Maize.

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THE BLUE NILE.



ON THE BANKS OF THE BLUE NILE.

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bare and the rest draped in her milâya, she was crushing corn to make flour, exactly like her prototype in the Cairo Museum. It was very amusing to live the life of forty centuries ago in this way! As a matter of fact, we live this double life daily, but what is needed is our perception of the truth. In Egypt we are so accustomed to it all that we no longer perceive it, but here I find myself on the *qui vive*, for everything is new to me, and strikes my attention.

The single-decked barge on the larboard side has a cargo of merchandise.

The river meanders along, its banks being low and bare, with here and there a few trees, date-palms, and fields of durra.

At night-fall the boat stops, navigation being impossible during the night. We pass Soba, the place to which we made an excursion two days ago, then El Efun, without stopping, until to-day, the 21st inst., at 5.30 p.m., we stop at Kemlin, in front of the house of the Ma'mur,¹ Mr. Craig, who himself, with a lighted lamp in his hand, pointed out the place where he wished us to moor. As soon as we had lain to, Mr. Craig came aboard and gave us an invitation to dinner. He lives on the banks of the Nile in a pretty, brick house surrounded by gardens.

There were five of us at dinner, and we naturally fell to discussing the Kemlin affair, in which Sheikh Abd el Kader had killed Mr. Scott-Moncrieff, a sub-Inspector in the Blue Nile province, and also Mohammed Effendi Sherif, the Ma'mur of Musallamia. The official account of this affair is found in Sir Eldon Gorst's Report (Blue Books, Egypt, No. 1, 1909).

¹ Local official in charge of a district.

In the belief that the opinion of the natives, and the versions which I have heard them give of the affair, will be of interest to you, I shall summarise the conversations I have had on this subject both at Khartum and on the Blue Nile.

Sheikh Abd el Kader Mohammed Imam Wad Kubeba—to give him his full name—is of the Haluin tribe, and was an intimate friend of both the Mahdi and the Khalifa. He was no warrior, but a holy man whose mind was more directed to his soul's salvation than to the affairs of this world. He had a wicked brother, who long ago informed the Government that Sheikh Abd el Kader was inculcating hatred of the Government in the minds of his disciples, and preaching revolt to the people in the neighbourhood of Tugr. The Government thereupon placed him under observation, a situation which annoyed him, as he disliked being suspected by the Government, and he kept guard over himself so as to afford no excuse to the authorities to order his arrest. However, about a year ago, feeling his position fairly strong, and having secured the support of thousands of followers, he refused to go to Kemlin when requested to do so by the Ma'mur, who wished to submit him to cross-examination. During the course of a week several letters were exchanged, and finally the Sheikh wrote to the Ma'mur begging the latter to visit him at his *ezba*,¹ near Musallamia.

"It is always a bad thing that the Government hasn't the last word here," said a Ma'mur to me. "My colleague at Musallamia, Mohammed Effendi Sherif, warned Moncrieff against going, and did all that was humanly possible to prevent him from going. He even

¹ Farm.

went so far in his objections that Moncrieff exclaimed, 'If you're afraid, don't come; I'll go alone.' Moham-med Sherif had, therefore, no more to say, and with Moncrieff proceeded to his death."

When they reached the *ezba*, they were both well received, then as soon as they had seated themselves on the *mastaba*,¹ the discussion began.

The Sheikh believed that by getting rid of Moncrieff he would get rid of the Government, but the fact that he had gone so far as actually to murder two men who were his guests alienated from him a number of his Arab adherents, who judged most severely the murder that was perpetrated, inasmuch as it outraged the canons of hospitality which Arabs in general religiously respect.

The Government took decisive action. Thanks to the troops, who behaved admirably—fighting as they did in a night attack—the trouble was quelled at the outset. Sheikh Abd el Kader lost time in parleying with the Arabs, who, he thought, were his friends, in spite of the fact that they had broken connection with him on account of the murder, and in the end, notwithstanding the fact that he had a chance of surprising the Government soldiers in their sleep, he was defeated and captured, and after a short time suffered the penalty of his crime by his death on the scaffold.

On our way through this district, we found that Abd el Kader was always mentioned as a martyred hero, ranking with the Khalifa, and the people only gave information when questions were put to them—they volunteered nothing. One day, when we were at a station taking in firewood, I was discussing various subjects with some Kenana Arabs and Shukrias who

¹ A seat outside the door generally made of stone.

happened to pass our way, and somehow—I know not how—the conversation turned on Abd el Kader and the Kemlin affair. I asked them how it came to pass that men, like the Sheikh, who seemed to be powerless, could find so many people ready to sacrifice their lives for them?

“God gives power and victory to whom He wills! Abd el Kader was a saint: he could recite the Koran by heart and did penance for his sins. The result was that disciples crowded around him, and they all lived on the charity of the public that sympathised with his doctrines. When a man, inspired as he was, finds himself sufficiently supported, he invites us ignorant Arabs to join with him and to provide him with the means of living at the same time as we increase the number of his adherents. If we refuse, we are sure to be killed the moment he gets hold of us, and our property will be pillaged and seized for the profit of his followers. If, on the other hand, we join him, the Government pursues us, and if we are caught we are imprisoned for months or even years. On leaving prison we once again become friends of the Government. The last argument of the dervishes is death, whereas the *Nassara*¹ do not like to kill. It is thus clearly to our interest to follow the dervishes—by so doing we save our life!”

I am unfortunately unable to reproduce either the gestures, or the tones, or the language actually employed by the Arab who laid down for me this plan of practical, utilitarian philosophy; but, nevertheless, it will be seen that these people possess a wisdom and employ a uniquely-simple logic lacking neither in strength nor in power of observation.

¹ Christians, meaning the English in this case.

We discussed with others Abd el Kader's policy, and the Arabs criticised it. One of them spoke as follows : "The most delicate and, at the same time, the most vital question for us is that of slavery. A slave has but to run away and appeal to the Government in order to secure his freedom. But the Arabs are landowners that are incapable of working the land themselves ; they have never done, nor will they ever do so, for they have always had negro slaves as cultivators. When the negroes till the soil all goes well : families are prosperous, masters and slaves live in plenty. If the slaves are freed the Arabs, with their wives and children, find death staring them in the face, for the *sákias*¹ fall into ruin, the cattle die from lack of attention, and the land lies fallow owing to dearth of labourers. Meanwhile the slaves themselves are in the position of freed men who may die of hunger, or be killed as vagabonds or highway robbers, or they may become like these men here, wood-choppers, who supply the steamers with firewood."

It was a treat to see the contemptuous way in which the speaker pointed his spear towards the negroes engaged in lading our steamer with fuel!

The Government pays its freed-slave labourers five piastres² a day, but as private employers cannot afford to pay so high a wage, the slaves leave them, with the result that the masters are ruined.

"If, therefore," proceeded my informant, "Abd el Kader, who was an honest bigot, had been a man of the Mahdi's stamp, he would have preached against the Government for its policy of ruining the Arabs by liberating their slaves without giving the masters the slightest compensation. Had he so preached, the whole Sudan—

¹ Water-wheels.

² A piastre is worth 2½d.

from one end to the other—would have risen in revolt, and the Government would have had the greatest difficulty in maintaining its position; it would have been bound to declare, as did Gordon, that slaves would remain slaves!”

The land measure here is the *gada'a*, which is equal to about five or six feddans,¹ and the feddan of land sells at from 25 to 30 piastres. This low price gives an idea of the inferior productive value of the lands when they are only rendered cultivable by rain.

S.S. “Dal,”

Sunday, 22nd November, 1908.

We went off at 7.30 this morning to visit the school, which numbers about one hundred pupils, most of whom are of the Arab tribes in the neighbourhood. Some of these Arabs are as clear-skinned as the Egyptians; they are the offspring of the Moroccans who formed the infantry of the invading army of Ismail Bey in 1819, and who, having been left at different points along the Blue Nile for the purpose of keeping up communications and of assuring the retreat of the conquering army, settled there and founded a new stock. These Moroccans, it appears, never marry with negresses, and any children they may have by them are never allowed to marry white Moroccans. In this way the Moroccan stock is kept white all the way from Khartum and along the Blue Nile.

There is a great landed proprietor here to whom apparently everything belongs, a man of the name of Abd el Nur. He is the son of a Coptic clerk, who became a Moslem during the Mahdi's reign of terror,

¹ A feddan is a little larger than an acre.

and left behind him a family and much property. The father was the chief clerk of the district, and became possessed, according to popular belief, of 30,000 feddans of land. To the north of the town is a magnificent forest, which he planted and left to his son, Abd el Nur.

The school is very well kept, and pupils stay there for three years, learning to read and write and to master the four rules of arithmetic—quite enough for these simple folk. The most intelligent pupils, those of whom high hopes are entertained and whose families are well-off, are sent to Khartum, to the Gordon College, where they continue their studies at their parents' expense, and learn English and other subjects. The masters of this school are from Omdurman, or from the Gordon College Training College. They give the appearance of being quite satisfied with their lot, and are justly proud of the results they obtain. One of them said to me, "I thank God for having chosen me to teach His word to these children, and for having enabled me to train a number of clerks and accountants without the parents having had to pay a penny."

I have met here three Armenians, one of whom, Kirtar Bazadjian, is director of the Government farm. I have paid a visit to the farm, the area of which is about 150 feddans. It is exceedingly well kept, and experiments are carried on with different kinds of cotton, wheat, maize, and Sudanese beans. The farmer, a good type of Armenian, a well-set-up man and a hard worker, is from Tokat. He has a wife and two children, and seems quite contented with his lot; in his own country he used to be a tobacco-planter. The second is called Dihran Kasbarian, a merchant from Constantinople; he married a young Armenian girl at Khartum last August, and is

quite happy to be settled here, where he is the only *bakkâl*.¹ The third is a mechanic in Government employment, Leon Limondjian, who lives here with his mother, and both of them seem perfectly happy.

During our visit of inspection we were joined by Lieut. Mohammed Sadek Effendi of the Mounted Infantry, who is detached for service in these parts with fifty men. He will patrol the country for some considerable time yet, until the two murderers of Moncrieff and Sherif are captured. The man who killed Sherif got a kick from his victim which not only broke off several of his teeth, but his jaw also, it seems. A price has been set on the heads of both the murderers, but up to the present they have, according to Sadek Effendi's information, eluded capture.

I did the inspection of the school, the town, and the farm from 7.30 a.m. to 8.30 a.m., proceeding from place to place on donkey-back. The weather was very fresh, a good north wind blowing, and the sun being very mild. On my return to the boat, I was astounded to see the vast number of huge, black mosquitoes that had invaded it. Mr. Craig informed us that they came from the marshy land left all round Kemlin after the Nile flood had abated. They proved absolutely insupportable.

The engineer of our boat, who is at the same time captain and general commissioner, is a very energetic and intelligent Italian of the name of Ernesto Sciplini. He has been in the service of the Sudan Government for over eleven years, and is an old pupil of the Bulak Technical School, which he entered when it was under the directorship of Guigon Bey. Throughout the trip he has manifested extreme gratitude to me.

¹ General-stores keeper.

There are, it appears, three men of his situation in the Sudan—a French Jew, a Greek, and he—and all three were, with about ten others, introduced by me into the Bulak Technical School with the object of raising the tone of the Egyptians who attended it, for the Egyptians considered themselves sacrificed in being placed as students in a technical school instead of being sent to an ordinary school, where they might study literature, and from which “ministers with fat salaries proceed.” Such is the general belief of the youthful students of the Bulak Technical School!

I remember the time when it was desired to remodel this school, on the ground that it was useless, yet here I find in the Sudan engineers of many years’ standing who studied there. But for them, English engineers would have had to be brought out, with double or triple the pay that was given to these men during the whole period of preparation for the reconquest of the Sudan. At present, whenever an engineer of this type dies or is pensioned off, he is replaced by an Englishman, from which it may be inferred that the reforms latterly introduced into the Technical School have not yet proved of value in producing useful men.

At 11.30 a.m. we left Kemlin, and in the evening moored on the left bank of the river at a point where we were able to procure a supply of firewood.

S.S. “Dal,”

23rd November, 1908.

The question of fuel for steamboats in the Sudan is as yet unsettled. Coal brought from Egypt is impossibly dear, the cost being about £4 a ton. It was hoped that with the advent of the Port Sudan Railway the

price might be reduced to such an extent as to make its employment on the Nile steamboats profitable, but though the ton is now sold in Khartum at only £2, the price is still too high for coal to be employed industrially. It is found more advantageous, therefore, to use wood.

The banks of the Blue and White Niles are for the most part covered with forests of various species of trees, and the Government has established at fixed distances firewood stations, to which it sends gangs of unemployed or vagabond negroes and others. These men, under the superintendence of a chief and a clerk, cut down trees and prepare logs, which are supplied to passing steamboats that are in need of them. In spite of the fact that large numbers of such men are employed at these stations, and that their daily cost—including pay, rations, tools, etc.—amounts to five piastres, the wood supplies the same amount of heat as the coal at a quarter of the cost, or in other words, a half-sovereign's worth of wood furnishes the same amount of heat as a ton of coal which costs over £2 on the Blue Nile.

But can this system of providing fuel be carried on indefinitely? Such a thing is incredible, for the forests become rapidly dismantled of their trees in proportion as commercial activity along the river increases, and as the wooded parts get farther and farther away from the banks, the cost of the wood becomes dearer and dearer. The difficulty is one that calls for immediate attention, inasmuch as within a relatively short period trade will have so much increased that the problem of provision of fuel will be beyond possibility of solution.

Since leaving Khartum we have always slept in the open air, and our "cage" has proved cool and comfortable. Wrapped up in shawls, one sleeps excellently in

the open, for, however cool the air may be towards morning, there is an absolute lack of humidity, and consequently one feels well, light and comfortable.

The open-air life of the blacks here makes them extremely healthy, and we have been agreeably surprised to find their eyesight remarkably good. At Kemlin I failed to detect among the hundred pupils in the school a single one with weak eyes; on the contrary, their black eyes shone as brilliantly as carbuncles. I have been informed that even in the black regiments eye maladies are quite rare.

We left Kemlin in the company of a stern-wheel gunboat which is on its way to Roseires, where it is to be stationed until the Nile rises in 1909. The same day (22nd Nov.), at about 3 p.m., we had our first sight of a crocodile. It was about two metres long, yellow in colour, and lay basking in the sunlight on the green bank of the Nile at a distance of from not more than thirty or forty metres. The place it had chosen to bask in on emerging from the river seemed to please it exceedingly, for it did not budge in the slightest as we approached. It was a hideous-looking beast, at which Captain Hearne fired without success.

At dawn to-day we left the fuel station and steamed on to Hissa-Hissa, where we stopped at 8 a.m. This place is to replace Musallamia as the chief town of the district, for the reason that Musallamia is four or five miles inland. Here as at every other point along the banks of the Nile, from the sea to its sources, the natives dislike living close to the river; they fear its periodical floods and the various dangers to which it exposes them. The Government of the present day, however, on account of the facilities which the Nile affords as a rapid trade route, prefers to establish its centres near to the river.

I have come across several Egyptian and European surveyors engaged in the work of checking the areas of private estates for purposes of taxation. The work is carried out with the greatest ease, seeing that the land-owners themselves render all possible assistance. From these surveyors—who are all young men—I have learnt that the *gada'a*, the unit of land-area throughout the Arab Sudan, is about $5\frac{1}{4}$ feddans. This unit is, however, found to be too big and inconvenient for the work that is being done, and is, therefore, being replaced by the feddan. In the registers the area of the various lands is given in feddans, although in the title-deeds the *gada'a* is still used alongside the equivalent number of feddans for purposes of checking. I imagine that the Sudanese Arabs adopted the *gada'a* as their land unit because of its representing the surface capable of being watered by an ordinary *sâkia* worked by a single ox and drawing water from an average depth of two metres. However this assumption of mine may square with facts, the *gada'a* as a unit will at least disappear officially.

It would be interesting to learn what unit of area was employed in ancient times by the Ethiopians. It would not surprise me to find that it was no other than the *gada'a*, which unit the Arabs probably adopted just as the Egyptians adopted the feddan of 24 kirats, the *arur* of the ancients.

The surveyors also informed me that the price of the *gada'a* varies from 80 P.T.¹ to 100 P.T. according to the position of the land, a price that works out at from 20 P.T. to 25 P.T. per feddan.

There are now scarcely any *sâkias* on the Nile. During the 95 miles we have travelled upstream since

¹ P.T. = piastre tariff ($2\frac{1}{2}$ d.).



HAMAGS MAKING A SHAM ATTACK AT ROSEIRES.



THE RIVER RAHAD.

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TO THE
AMERICAN

leaving Khartum, we have only seen about ten sâkias. As slave labour disappears, the sâkias tend to disappear too, for it is very hard work to keep them going, as is readily understood when one knows the nature of their construction. They are primitive, heavy machines, consisting of entire tree-trunks fixed in place with cords made from the bark of palm-trees ; in comparison with them, the humblest sâkia in Egypt is a light and scientifically-planned machine.

The crops most generally cultivated to-day during the rainy season are durra, sesame, and even cotton. In the low-lying lands of the interior where lakes or marshes—both above ground and under ground—are formed as the result of heavy rains or the Nile floods, the Sudanese Arabs cultivate cotton chiefly, not for exportation but to supply their own needs. It is a cotton of very poor quality, and its transport to the sea would be very costly, but experiments with Egyptian cotton-seed show excellent results, for the cotton so grown can compete favourably with cotton grown in Egypt in spite of transport charges.

At about 10 a.m. we reached the village of Rufa'a. We stepped ashore and proceeded to walk through the market, which was a scene of great animation. We also visited the school, which interested us greatly ; the headmaster, Ba Bikr, proved to be a most active, intelligent and enthusiastic man. There are 150 pupils from different Arab tribes, but the majority are Shukrias, whose centre is here. The teachers are former pupils of the school. During the five years the school has been under his charge, Sheikh Ba Bikr has sent out 125 trained pupils, some of whom are settled at Rufa'a, whilst others are continuing their studies at the Gordon College

in Khartum. The Sheikh, who is indefatigable as a worker, has also opened a girls' school, which is attended by seven of his own daughters, and the zeal he shows is reflected by the whole of the teachers and pupils. He is of the Ja'alin tribe of Dongola Arabs, although he was born at Rufa'a, where he learnt reading and writing, proceeding afterwards to Omdurman to complete his studies. He told me that on the Mahdi's arrival at Omdurman, he fled to Cairo, where he studied for a time at the Azhar University. Later he returned with the Egyptian forces and settled in Rufa'a, where he gives the benefit of his acquirements to his compatriots. To give some idea of his zeal and inventive capacity, I cannot forbear from relating the following occurrence.

Possessing nothing better to help him in the teaching of geography than the maps contained in atlases, he found it impossible to make either his pupils or even his assistants realise the rotundity of the earth, in which he firmly believes. Failing to procure a globe from Khartum, he cast about for an inspiration, and was rewarded by quite an original idea. This was to make use of one of the round pumpkins which the Sudanese are in the habit of cutting in two in order to make vases of the halves. On it he marked off the two poles, drew lines of latitude and longitude, painted seas and oceans in blue and continents in various colours. The whole work was most cleverly done, and he remains justly proud of his achievement.

On leaving the school, we proceeded to the house of the Ma'mur, a young Egyptian who received his education in the Government schools. Like many others whom I have met in the Sudan, he remembers quite well that I was at the head of the Ministry of Education.

These old pupils address me as their father, and display great fondness of and friendship for me; they would go through fire for me, so great is their desire to please me. The Ma'mur, who took part in the reconquest of the Sudan, has remained in the army ever since. His wife is Moroccan by descent, but was born in the Sudan. The reason he gave me for marrying her rather than an Egyptian is that Cairene women—and indeed Egyptian women in general—cannot live in the Sudan, where they find it very hard to submit to the exigencies of military life, whereas the Sudanese women are inured to the hardships of the situation. Thus the Ma'mur's wife is quite accustomed to the fatigue of a journey of twenty or thirty days on camel-back. He seems contented and happy at his post, and has two children, whom he takes with him to Egypt every two years when he goes off on the usual official leave.

Our next visit was to the sheikh of the Shukrias, a tribe that was specially favoured by Ismail Bey when, somewhere about the year 1820, he undertook the conquest of the Sudan; he gave to the Shukrias various special privileges. The grandfather of the sheikh, Sheikh Ahmed Bey Abu Sinn, died in Cairo, full of honour, at an advanced age. His father was, however, put to death in prison in Omdurman by order of the Khalifa, who detested him, and who caused the massacre of a number of the tribe. Those still living owe their life to having escaped into Abyssinia during the massacres, and they are now gradually recovering themselves, thanks to the efforts of their sheikh Abdalla Awad el Kerim and his brother, Abdalla Ahmed Bey Abu Sinn, who are honest and successful in their management of the tribe's affairs. The Shukrias are greatly reputed in

the Sudan for their honesty and fidelity, which qualities have secured for them their employment as carriers between the Sudan, Abyssinia, and the Red Sea coast.

The Sheikh provided us with an excellent cup of coffee, and upon our complimenting him on its excellence, he sent for his coffee-maker, an old Dongolese, who proceeded to make more coffee before us. The process lasted a quarter of an hour, during which he employed not less than eighteen different articles. Squatting on the ground with a chafing-dish of burning wood-charcoal before him, he took in his hand a wooden saucer, into which he put the green coffee-berries. To these he applied live charcoal, and turned the saucer about so as to make both the berries and the charcoal jump up and down. As soon as the berries were thoroughly roasted, he next removed the live charcoal with an iron prod, and emptied the coffee-berries all hot into a hard wooden mortar, where he crushed them with a marble pestle. When at last the berries were reduced to an almost impalpable powder, he dropped the contents of the mortar into a vessel of tin-plate filled with water, and then heated the vessel over the chafing-dish. Presently the liquid began to boil, when he immediately strained it through date-palm fibre into an earthenware vessel, and the clear liquid was once more placed over the fire. When it began to boil again, the process of straining was repeated. After the double operation of straining and boiling had been repeated several times, the coffee was finally poured out into small cups ready to be served to the guests. It was so exceptionally good that Prof. Sayce and Capt. Hearne, to say nothing of myself, drank two cups each with pleasure, without counting the cup we had at first.

It appears that every Arab, man and woman alike, possesses the same equipment for coffee-making as that we saw, for everyone makes his own coffee whether he be in town or under a tent—in short, coffee plays a great part in the life of the Arab.

The sheikh most kindly offered me a complete set of the articles used in making coffee, and insisted upon my accepting his gift as a souvenir of my stay at Rufa'a. He further was good enough to show me the chief *wasm*¹ employed by the Shukrias in branding their camels: on the exterior of the upper part of the right thigh two horizontal marks \equiv ; between the left eye and the bottom of the left ear a semicircular line; and on the right cheek two upright marks ||. In the case of the cattle there are two upright marks || on the outer side of the right leg.

Ba Bikr, the schoolmaster, accompanied us on our visits, and whilst we were drinking coffee at the sheikh's house he told us of the origin of the Sudanese Arabs. "In the eighth century," he said, "when the Abbâsides overturned the power of the Umayyads, who ruled over the Arabs at Damascus, the Abbâsides pursued throughout the whole of the Arab empire the Umayyads with their friends and relations, slaying, it is said, not less than thirty thousand of them. One of the Umayyad princes who escaped into Egypt, fled finally to Spain, where he was recognised as Caliph. This prince was Abd el Rahman of Cordova, who established there the Spanish Umayyad dynasty. He was the protector of all the Umayyads in Africa, who hastened to gather round him, but those of them who were in Arabia, being unable to join him by way of Syria and Egypt on account

¹ Tribal brand or marking.

of the persecution to which they were still subjected there, crossed the Red Sea and disembarked at Massawa in Abyssinia and at Suakin in the Sudan. They remembered that during one period of persecution of the Kureishites at Mecca several friends of the Prophet had found refuge with the Negus of Abyssinia, and, therefore, with the intention of reaching Abyssinia—there to wait until they should proceed on their journey to Spain—they passed over into Africa. Arrived there, they met with the greatest hospitality wherever they went. They advanced westwards, trading peacefully on the way. Following in their train came many other Arabs, who fled from Arabia to escape civil war and persecution. In this way the Arabs established themselves on the Blue Nile, and their numbers gradually rose to a considerable figure. They stretched westwards as far as Darfur and Wadai, and joined hands with the Berbers, who had advanced into the Sudan from the north. Finally, in the thirteenth century, they joined hands in a similar manner with those Arabs who, on their way from Egypt, had destroyed the Christian kingdoms of Nubia and Dongola, and with their help brought to an end the powerful empire of the Christian Nubians, whose centre was Soba on the Blue Nile. All the Arab tribes that exist in the Sudan to-day are descendants of these early Arabs."

After this summary statement, the sheikh gave us the history of each tribe. On my asking him whether he had ever written what he told us, "No," he replied, "but I hope to do so." I urged him to undertake the task, and promised him that if he did so, I would have his manuscript printed in Cairo at my own expense.

On our way back to the steamboat we passed through

the market-place, where I saw the shop of two Armenians who are partners in a "general stores." They informed me that they have been established at Rufa'a for two years, and that their business is a prosperous one. They are the only two foreigners in the town.

The Shukria Arabs are fine-looking men, well-built and strong. Their nose is long and arched, their forehead expansive, and their eyes expressive; indeed, were they white, they would undoubtedly be taken for Arabs or Jews from Yemen.

We left Rufa'a half-an-hour after mid-day, and moored that night to the shore. The next morning, 24th November, we stopped at Abu Harraz to disembark a family that was making a pilgrimage to the Sheikh's tomb in fulfilment of a vow. It was interesting to watch the care and delicate attention our sailors gave to this party, especially when they assisted the two ladies and the children to get on shore.

We passed the mouth of the Rahad, where the landscape reminded us of Europe—we might have been in Scotland, Switzerland, or the Tyrol! This river, thirty or forty metres wide, flows into the Nile, whilst verdure rises from the water's edge up the steep banks that are crowned with trees of many different kinds. The sight is a most charming one. There were about twenty naked blacks fishing at the mouth of the river as we approached, but as soon as they saw the lady pilgrims they slipped on their cotton drawers to cover their nakedness. Their respect for the ladies struck us as being charmingly idyllic, for they ceased their work of fishing and came forward to the ladies and children in order to assist them to the top of the bank by carrying their luggage and children too!

We were soon off again, and in the middle of the stream observed a sand-bank, which it was necessary for us to skirt. The noise we made disturbed the repose of a crocodile, which, with slow and gentle movements, disappeared in the Nile.

Fishermen, pilgrims, crocodile! Of all these there but remained with us the impression of an infinitely sweet and peaceful dream.

S.S. "Dal,"

25th November, 1908.

We arrived at Wad Medani at about 9 a.m. The Mudir, Dickinson Bey, came to meet us. It is he who was in command at Katfia, near Tugr, on the occasion of the night attack made by Sheikh Abd el Kader. Though very badly wounded in the region of the kidneys, he did not cease to issue orders to his men until Abd el Kader's attack was successfully repulsed. He made an excellent impression upon Prof. Sayce, who remarked to me, *sotto voce*, "It is with men like him that empires are built up!" an opinion with which I fully agree.

We wended our way to the Mudiria,¹ a big, red-brick building with verandah, columns, etc., like the Khartum Palace, and then proceeded to the Mudir's private residence, a kind of brick bungalow. As the ground in the town is of no value, it has been disposed of wholesale, so that although the population is between sixteen and twenty thousand, the town covers, in all probability, an area greater than that of Cairo.

The ground floor of all the houses, rich and poor alike, is somewhat elevated, and thus the inmates get plenty of air and sunshine. The embankments, which extend

¹ The official residence of the Mudir or Governor.



AT WAD MEDANI.



CROWD ON THE RIVER-BANK AT WAD MEDANI.

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for a distance of at least two kilometres, are bordered with trees, and at one part of the Nile bank is a strip of land with orchards and kitchen-gardens arranged like a botanical garden. This, together with the beautiful trees that were planted by the Turks before the Mahdi's time, makes quite a fine approach to the town. Some of the roads are thirty metres wide, others twenty metres, and all are well kept, even the wharves themselves being swept and watered. All this luxury is for the Sudanese population, negroes and negresses, some of whom are draped in white, whilst others, with figures like bronze statues, walk about and do their work in a state of almost absolute nudity.

As a rule, the inhabitants of Arab origin, both men and women, wear clothes ; it is the negroes and negresses that pay no attention to clothing. They regard such as a useless luxury, and if they do wear clothes, it is in a spirit of "snobbery," one might say, for so far as their personal tastes and inclinations are concerned, they prefer going about stark-naked!

We lunched with the Mudir and six of his officers and officials. Dickinson Bey is a typical Englishman of the type one sees in pictures of the eighteenth century—tall and thin, with sharp-cut features and expressive eyes in which strong will-power is easily recognisable. He speaks little, but one feels that he is always on the alert. He asks you what you would like, and almost as soon as you express a wish it is fulfilled. When we were in the Mudiria he asked us if we would like to go away to rest in his house, rising and putting on his hat as he put the question. I replied that I wanted to send off a telegram ; he at once took off his hat and sat down again in his chair to re-engage in a piece of

work he had in hand, whilst some one brought me telegraph-forms and a pencil, and placed a chair for me to sit down on. He had given the order for all this to be done at the moment he took off his hat before recommencing his work! When Prof. Sayce asked him for some geographical information, he led the professor to a wall-map and pointed out the place required with his finger—that was all! At table, in order to set us at ease—seeing that we were dressed like brigands—he sat down in his shirt-sleeves, although his six subordinates were dressed as if they were in London. I hear that the troops under his command like him very much.

After lunch we went back to our boat, to which he accompanied us. By-and-by came Mr. Dupuis of the Irrigation Service with his staff; after having tea with us, they conducted us to the other end of the town, where their offices and residences are. They were desirous of showing us some antique vases which they had found in great quantity, along with plates, bowls, and pitchers—all most artistically shaped—in tombs that they had discovered whilst digging up the ground to make the foundations of a rest-house at Abu Haddad, about thirty kilometres below Sennaar. The moment the tombs were opened and the skeletons within exposed to the air, the latter crumbled to dust. The vases were all in either dark or reddish terra-cotta similar to the Assiut terra-cotta of the present day, or to that found in the ancient Nubian tombs near Wadi-Halfa on the Nile, and nearly all of them had graven upon them, in *graffiti* either the monogram of Christ, or a fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ), or a palm-branch. Having no doubt whatever upon the subject, Prof. Sayce classed them all as small Christian funerary memorials, the date of whose manufacture lies

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RECEPTION OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL AND LADY WINGATE
AT WAD MEDANI.



SHEIKHS AT SINGA.

The tall man standing second from the left of the picture is Adlan, a descendant
of the old Fung Kings.

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between the fourth and the tenth centuries, certainly not later than the tenth century.

We quitted Wad Medani at 4 p.m., and passed the night at an uninhabited spot, where we lay to until 4 a.m. to-day, when we started off once more on our journey. In this part of the world Wad Medani has the reputation of being a gay place, whose women singers and dancers are famous for their skill. Our servants all left the boat and went off to the market-place, from which they did not return till very late; some of them even failed to rejoin us until we got to the Irrigation Department's offices at a point about a mile or so east of the town. They had all been indulging in hashish and *buza*,¹ and could scarcely stand upright. I was obliged to show anger and to threaten to hand them over to the police. The fear of being imprisoned apparently sobered them, for at eight o'clock, when we dined, they had quite recovered their senses, and were perfectly cheerful.

Several revolts have occurred this year, the principal ones being that of Kemlin, which I have already described, and that of Gebel Nayima in Dar Nuba, Kordofan. I am now in possession of still further details of the Kemlin affair, which continues to occupy the attention of everybody here, both English and native.

After having killed Moncrieff and the Ma'mur Sherif Effendi, Sheikh Abd el Kader gathered his men together and prepared to resist the Government troops, who, he knew, must come to avenge the death of the officers. He made a camp for himself and his men all round his farm, which was a mistake on his part, for, had he but

¹ Native beer.

marched against Kemlin, he would have had a fine time, seeing that there were only fifty policemen in the place. These fifty men themselves marched against the village of Tugr, where nobody attacked them for forty-eight hours. When Dickinson's Sudanese arrived from Wad Medani night had fallen, so they encamped; meanwhile the Kemlin police were camping in front of Abd el Kader's position, which, as I am given to understand, was towards the east. Dickinson placed his camels and baggage to the left of the police camp, behind which were the *angarebs*¹ of the officers, and behind these again the troops.

Abd el Kader's men having learnt, either from a spy or a deserter, the position of the officers, attacked the police about midnight. Having defeated them, they then passed between the troops and the camels in order to attack the officers, who, to the number of ten, were lying asleep in a line, one beside the other. Two of the ten officers were killed, four wounded, whilst the remaining four escaped miraculously. Meanwhile the troops fired on the brigands, and managed to disperse them. Though they possessed more than two hundred rifles, these rebels—in keeping with the custom of the Arabs—preferred fighting with their spears and swords to using their rifles, which, to speak accurately, they had left behind them in their camp. Abd el Kader joined in the retreat of his defeated forces, but some days later was caught, arrested, and disarmed by a negro, who conducted him to the chief town of the district. The reward offered for Abd el Kader's capture was £E100.² When the negro presented himself to the Ma'mur, he said,

¹ Wicker-work beds.

² The Egyptian pound is £1 os. 6d. in English money.

pointing to his captive, "Here's Abd el Kader, take him and give me my hundred pounds!" Hardly had he spoken these words when he fell down dead, stricken by a blow from a dagger, one of those daggers that all Arabs carry on their left arm, and which the negro had neglected to remove from Abd el Kader's possession at the moment of his capture. In the disorder that ensued this murder Abd el Kader escaped, the police at the door allowing him to pass either through indecision or inattention, or perhaps because they did not wish to kill a sheikh. Whatever their carelessness was due to, Abd el Kader got away, only to be recaptured a few days later and ultimately hanged.

This revolt reminds me of another one that arose in Kordofan, the following details of which were related to me by an officer who took part in the affair, but I cannot vouch for their accuracy. There was a man in Kordofan who called himself Jesus Christ, and, asserting that he had returned to the earth to save mankind, went about from place to place preaching a gospel. At the time of his appearance there were in charge of the district station only two officials, Suleiman Bey and Shaker Effendi, and with them nine men. The new prophet marched off against the station with more than two thousand men whom he had gathered round him. Suleiman Bey telegraphed everywhere, but without hope of help reaching him before a week or two should expire. He, however, prepared to defend his post. One day the drums of the prophet were heard advancing to the attack, and Shaker Effendi went out to reconnoitre. What was his joy when he beheld approaching the station fifty men mounted on dromedaries, together with a company of a black battalion,

who, having finished their work in the neighbourhood, were returning to Obeid, and were coming to the station to find refreshments *en route*. The prophet's followers, therefore, found these men who had so opportunely arrived ready to receive them. The result was that the rebels were routed, their chief taken, and a fine of £E6000 imposed upon them. They duly paid the fine, and everything became quiet again. I should not be surprised, however, to find that certain people in such a country still believe that the false prophet was really Jesus Christ!

Yesterday we were informed that the dervish who was the first to drive his spear into Moncrieff's body has been captured near Wad Medani, but the murderer of Sherif Effendi still remains at large. There is a price of £E50 on the heads of these two men, and £E5 on the heads of twenty-two others.

It seems as though the Government were receiving assistance on all hands, even from the Sudanese Arabs and negroes, who aid it in establishing the order and peace of which they stand in so much need.

From Wad Medani the river assumes a new aspect. Trees are bigger, greener, and more numerous, and they are nearer to the water; date-palms, which up to the present have been more or less visible, now disappear entirely; the banks are green from top to bottom, and as fast as the Nile falls verdure appears where before there was water. What puzzles one is the way in which huge trees remain in the flood waters for three or four months during the period of high Nile, then shoot forth their green leaves again and become more vigorous than before after their prolonged bath.

From our boat we see in the forest thousands of birds

of all colours—parrots, guinea-fowls, etc.—fluttering from tree to tree, and monkeys running about everywhere. It affords us great amusement to watch the gambols of these animals all along the river banks. We have seen a big monkey that had stolen eggs from a bird's nest run off as fast as it could, eating the eggs as it ran, pursued by a host of birds all leagued against the thief. As we advance we see more and more crocodiles. Captain Hearne fired at one recently with good effect; the huge creature jumped high up into the air, only to fall back again into the water, which it reddened with its blood. The engineer of the boat also fired, but missed his aim.

We have on board with us an officer who has served for a long time in the south of Kordofan, on the Bahr-el-Ghazal side. Although I have never been there myself, I think it worth while to repeat what he has told me on the subject of the habits and customs of the Arabs and negroes in that part of the country.

The inhabitants of the southern part of Kordofan are Moslems only in name, for they know no more of the religion they profess than the simple confession of faith, if, indeed, they even know that! They never touch intoxicating liquors, but, on the other hand, they breed troops of pigs, just as if these were sheep, and eat their flesh. The prettier and richer the young girls are the more are they sought after by the young men—one girl may have as many as from seven to fifteen wooers, who court her and flirt with her for a whole year, in the sight of and with the knowledge of her parents. They not only visit her in the daytime, but remain at night near her dwelling to mount guard outside her room, going so far even as to keep watch within her room in

order to be at her service in case she should awake. If she asks for water, as many calabashes of water are offered to her as there are lovers in attendance. Should she desire to pay calls on her friends, the whole of her lovers offer to carry her palanquin, and again it is the aspirants to her hand who undertake to anoint her with butter every morning. The period of courtship lasts, as I have already stated, for a year, at the end of which period the beauty must make her choice. When she does so the unsuccessful wooers go off to repeat their performance with another girl, but notwithstanding the intensity of this kind of wooing and the promiscuous proceedings connected therewith, one never hears of a case of immorality. The girls are perfectly free before marriage. If a man on horseback passes a group of girls at the entrance to the village, they stop his horse and compel him to choose one of them. Under pain of being discredited in the country, the young man is compelled to do as requested, and the girl he selects takes him completely in hand, guarding her virtue the whole time they remain together. Frequently marriage results from such a connexion, but in most cases the game only lasts a day, during which the young man is obliged to satisfy the thousand and one whims of the mistress he has chosen.

Farther south, in the southern part of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, the sky is regarded by the people as God, and the cow as His representative on earth. They, therefore, collect its urine, and in the morning, by way of prayer, they wash their face with it, and then cover themselves with ashes, so that their face and the upper part of their body are quite covered with mud. The men go about quite naked, their only ornaments being bracelets

of copper, iron, tin, or ivory, and feathers that they stick into their hair. The women wear a rope girdle, from which hangs before and behind the flat-shaped fruit of a tree which grows in the country; sometimes they find empty cartridges, with which they replace the pendant fruit, and then their delight is beyond all measure. Thus equipped, they cannot contain themselves for joy, and do not even envy the Queen of England. They adore, nay, idolise, their children, and are very fond of their husbands. Cases of adultery are so rare as scarcely to merit mention; it is practically non-existent. In cases of polygamy, which is of very rare occurrence, each wife is lodged in a *tukul* of her own, and works day and night for the comfort of her husband and children.

I must here observe that whenever Egyptian officers have given me information of a general nature I have found it quite interesting, but I have never yet been able to obtain from them reliable information of a geographical or ethnological nature. The officer whose observations I have just quoted referred to customs he had himself seen, and I have since found confirmation of his statements, but he was hazy in locating the district in Southern Kordofan to which he referred, for at one moment he spoke of it as being *near* the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and at another moment as being *far* from it. Moreover, I was only able to secure such vague indications as these after much questioning and infinite trouble.

The tribes in Southern Kordofan must therefore be some of the inferior Arab tribes—Kenanas or Hawaz-mas, with a strain of Dinka or other negro blood. As for those in Southern Bahr-el-Ghazal, I presume they are either Dinkas or Niam-Niams.

Another officer, who had seen service on the Red Sea

littoral, told me of a curious custom amongst the Bisharin or Somali Arabs, who are theoretically and nominally Moslems, but who, however, rarely know the simple Moslem confession of faith. "A married woman," said he, "finds in the market-place a man to her liking, invites him to her house, and, if he consents, proceeds to her home with him. When the husband returns to his abode he finds the door closed, and the wife from within calls out to him, 'I have a guest.' The husband then waits outside patiently until the guest chooses to depart, but the moment the latter issues from the house he has to engage in a duel with the husband. Should the stranger be killed in the encounter, the husband enters his house and retakes possession of his wife, but if it is the husband that is killed, the guest is obliged to marry the widow at the end of the canonical period of four months' waiting, within which a Moslem widow is forbidden to re-marry."

Nearly all the third-class passengers who were in the larboard barge left us at Wad Medani.

S.S. "Dal,"

25th November, 1908.

At one o'clock we passed the mouth of the River Dindar, which, like the Rahad, flows into the Nile from the north-east. Bruce, the explorer, thought that the Rahad and the Dindar are one and the same river, but Cailliaud says that they are two parallel streams. Recent explorations have proved the truth of Cailliaud's statement, although it is quite possible that during flood-time the waters of the two rivers which flow so close together mingle on overflowing their banks.

At this time of the year the waters of the two rivers



THE RIVER DINDAR.



THE WOODY BANKS OF THE DINDAR.

To face page 74.

TO THE
ALBANY

are as clear as crystal, and it is long before they mix with the slimy waters of the Blue Nile.

At the extremity of the left bank of the mouth of the Dindar a native has built his *tukul*, and cultivates the surrounding land ; surely a philosophical negro, who, like Candide, tills the soil far away from the rest of mankind. The spot is most poetically situated—the Dindar, with its verdant banks, and the proud Nile, with its trees and creepers dipping into the water ; whilst on the shore below, where the grass grows green and thick, are goats dotted here and there, browsing, and drinking at noon their allowance of water. At the very centre of the bay formed by the Dindar, in the midst of a blazing sun, we had our first sight of a hippopotamus swimming free and fearless in the clear sparkling water.

S.S. "Dal,"

26th November, 1908.

At midday yesterday it was very hot, 102° F. (39° C.), whereas in the night, at about 5 a.m., it became quite cool, the thermometer falling to 56° F. (13° C.). About ninety years ago, in 1821, for about the same latitude and the same date, Cailliaud gives almost the same figures : 34° C. at 2 p.m., and 24° C. at 6 a.m.

At about half-past eight this morning Captain Hearne succeeded in killing a crocodile to advantage. I say "to advantage" because we were able to fish it out of the water, after which the sailors and negroes on board cut it up and ate its flesh, and Captain Hearne himself is to have its skin.

We called at Abu Haddad, where there is an Irrigation rest-house, and in whose tombs the terra-cotta

objects we saw at Wad Medani were found. The engineers have fixed up a nilometer at this point.

Professor Sayce and Captain Hearne went out to visit the tombs, but as the rest-house is built over them, they saw nothing, except that, to the south of it, they found a hillock which, in Prof. Sayce's opinion, indicates the existence of other tombs or the ruins of a church. His opinion is strengthened by the fact that several negroes who were on the spot told him that the place is known as Beit-el-Anak,¹ Anak being the word used in this part of the Sudan for the giants of olden times, or an ancient people.

All who have travelled through the Nile valley, especially south of Assuan, must have observed the slashes across the cheeks of the negroes and negroids or Arab negroes. I have learnt that the Ja'alins, whose centre is Shendi, make three parallel vertical gashes ||| on both cheeks; the Shakias in the southern portion of Dongola make three horizontal ≡ cuts; and lastly, the Mahas, who live near Gebel Barkal, are distinguished by three sloping incisions ///. These tribes also brand their slaves of both sexes with the tribal *wasm*,² no matter what is the negro race to which they belong. The Berberins and Dongalawis, on the Nile between Assuan and Dongola, brand themselves with the *wasm* of whatever tribe they have most relations with.

The Arabs, who have been in the habit of invading these countries since the eighth century, at first married negresses, but from the thirteenth century, when, by reason of their own numbers and the number of their vassals they became so powerful as to undertake both nominally and effectively the government of the whole

¹ House of the Anaks.

² Brand.



THE RIVER RAHAD.

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territory lying between the Red Sea and Wadai, they refused to let their girls marry negroes. They themselves take negresses as concubines, but the children they have by these women have a much lower personal status than the children both of whose parents are of Arab stock.

The question of slavery has proved the cause of the downfall of every empire in the Sudan, in every age and under every form of religion and government. The pagan kingdom of Meroë, which was already in existence at the beginning of the Christian era, was replaced by the Christian kingdom of Soba on the Blue Nile, and this in its turn was replaced by the Moslem kingdom of Sennaar, or by the Fungs. All these dominations were overthrown, one after the other, owing to the internecine wars caused by man-hunting. Before the Sudan campaign of Mohammed Ali in 1819, the whole of the immense country from Wadai and Darfur on the west to Abyssinia on the east, and from Assuan on the north to the Bahr-el-Ghazal on the south, was in a state of continual warfare owing to the efforts of the Arabs to secure slaves of both sexes for Egypt, Arabia, India, and even Europe, which acted as slave-broker for America. This explains how Ismail Bey was able to seize, with relative ease, all the provinces on the line of his march. Every province had raised itself into an independent kingdom in order to hunt negroes; it sought only its own advantage and the detriment of adjoining provinces, paying no attention to the kingdom of Sennaar, the central authority which wielded power from Dongola to Abyssinia, along the Nile proper and the Blue Nile. Apart from all this, there were independent slave-raids made by the peoples of Darfur, Wadai, and Kordofan against

one another, and there were also frequent raids made by these people united against the Fung empire. It is in this way that the empire of Meroë must have fallen, and likewise that of Soba, called by Arab historians the Roman empire, because its religion was Christian, like that professed by the Byzantine emperors or Roman Cæsars.

Beyond Wad Haddad the river banks become higher and steeper, more abounding in trees and verdure, and fuller of animal life. It is surprising to find the forests so thickly inhabited: every moment we see men and women, and observe domestic animals, such as the cow and the sheep, being led to the riverside to drink. I suppose that life must of necessity be concentrated in the fertile strips that border this beneficent river.

On waking this morning we found our vessel passing very near the southern side of the river in front of a splendid forest. Right before me were a glade and a hill. On the top of the hill, like a dark spot upon a green background, stood a magnificent negro, holding in his right hand a huge spear with a long and wide iron tip that glittered in the sunlight, and in his left hand one of those big Arab bucklers of crocodile-hide. To me he seemed a bronze statue erected there to symbolise the genius of the Sudan. Free and proud he looked, relying solely on his youth and strength, and incapable of comprehending what was signified by our boat, the result of thousands of years of civilisation. He gazed at it as it passed before his eyes as though he did not see it—he, primitive man, symbolic of the starting-point of all civilisation!

At one o'clock we stopped at Wad Abbas, a large town of from five to six thousand inhabitants, all belonging



THE DINDAR, SHOWING THE REFLECTION OF THE BANKS.



CAMELS DRINKING AT THE RIVER DINDAR.



A LOVELY SCENE ON THE RIVER DINDAR.

TO VIKU
ANNO 1840

to different races foreign to the Sudan—Turks, Moroccans, Arnauts, etc., descendants of the old companions-in-arms of Prince Ismail Bey. They are mostly landed proprietors or merchants, and some of them pass for wealthy men. For one reason or another the Mahdists did them no harm. They are a people with the reputation of being very depraved: drinks of all kinds, games, singing, dancing and other amusements may all be had here, so that, in a single word, it may be said that the licentiousness of the place attracts to it all those who wish to amuse themselves and squander their money.

The town consists entirely of *sukuls* erected along the riverside for about the length of a kilometre. The river banks are very high at this part, and there is an absence of trees; all the cultivated land is found farther inland, more to the north, and in a large island facing the town. The place where the town lies is as bare and desert-like as possible, the exact contrary of this island, which, with its huge trees of various species, is extremely picturesque. Standing as it does above the level of the highest Nile floods, with its gravel soil sloping downwards to the river, the site on which the town is built must have been selected expressly because of its healthiness, especially during the rainy season.

At 5.30 p.m. we lay to in order to pass the night at Hillet Hilmi, one of the villages of time-expired black soldiers, to whom, by way of pension, the Government gives land, and settles them under a system which implies more or less of military discipline. Brigaded in this manner, the men form military colonies, which, it seems, succeed fairly well. I saw their inspector, a fine Shilluk negro, who fought in the black regiment of Abd el Aal at Tel-el-Kebir in 1882. He lives at Sennaar,

and is very proud of having fought at Tel-el-Kebir and to have been one of the only regiment that stood its ground against the English. He holds the memory of Abd el Aal in affectionate esteem, but prefers being in the Sudan, and has nothing but praise for the Government, which treats the Sudanese as a father does his children. "When the black soldiers have completed their period of service," he told me, "or when, by reason of age or wounds, they are no longer fit for active service, the Government sends them to one of these colonies, and advances them a certain sum of money to start upon, interest being charged at the rate of three per cent. per annum." The men manage to make a fairly good living, and lead a happy life with their wives and children. Most of the men here are old soldiers who took part in the rebellion of Arabi Pasha in 1882.

What to my mind reflects the greatest credit upon the Government is that the sheikhs and superintendents—the head men of all the villages where there are dervish colonies or freed soldiers—are the same as in the time of the Mahdists or Arabists. The result of this policy is that everything works smoothly, and that there is the utmost loyalty to the Government.

S.S. "Dal,"

27th November, 1908.

We arrived at Sennaar at 7.30 a.m. The old town, in which was located the headquarters of Prince Ismail Bey, is situated downstream of the new one, the present Government having preferred to build the new town higher up stream, where the land is more elevated. It is here that Ibrahim Pasha camped before starting off on his campaign up the White Nile. What memories

Sennaar raises in one's mind! The Fung conquest in the sixteenth century and that of Ismail Bey in the nineteenth. One day I may write what is known of the history of this unfortunate country in memory of a Fung negress who nursed me as a child, and who recounted to me the misfortunes of the king, her father, at the time of the conquest of Ismail Bey.

Inspector Sandford, Deputy-Inspector Bell, Sheikh Osman, the headmaster of the school, and others came to welcome us on our arrival. Sheikh Osman, a Ja'alin Arab who studied at Khartum, assured me that he is quite happy in his work and contented with his lot. His school, which opened less than a year ago, already numbers eighty-five pupils, and there are three teachers, of whom two belong to Sennaar itself. The majority of the pupils belong to the district, and forty-five of them are Fungs, sons of well-known and highly-esteemed men of the place; the rest are Arabs of various tribes. Those who do not belong to Sennaar live in groups of three or four, and a woman is paid to look after them and do their cooking. They only go home for the holidays. How great must be their desire for knowledge, seeing that they are ready to live such a life in a backward country! Sandford tells me that there must be quite three per cent. of the population in his district who know how to read and write, quite a large proportion when one considers the revolutions that have never ceased to trouble the country for so many years, more especially since the appearance of the Mahdi, who wholly destroyed the town of Sennaar, with its great mosque, its royal palace, its houses, market, etc., and dispersed or massacred its inhabitants. The Egyptians who survived the massacre were put in chains and led as prisoners to Omdurman,

where they were compelled to take service in the Mahdi's government and army.

When in 1821 Ismail Bey took the town, he destroyed the sovereignty of the Fung kings, but the last Fung king, Badi, lived on, and died a natural death, leaving no issue behind him. What remained of his life after Ismail Bey's conquest he spent as a simple citizen, esteemed by all. His brother Adlan left children, and one of his grandchildren still lives quietly at Sennaar itself. I was unfortunately unable to meet him.

The old town below was entirely destroyed in 1886, and has since then been uninhabited. Its ruins cover an area of about two kilometres by two, which, with the suburbs, must have meant a town of about 20,000 inhabitants. It was, in any case, a great market for all kinds of imported and exported goods. To-day, without reckoning the police and their families, the new town has scarcely six hundred inhabitants, and, since its destruction by the Mahdi, trade has left the place; it is now most desolate.

Mr. Sandford kindly invited us to breakfast with him. At midday we started off again. The two English inspectors, young men both, have, outside their official tasks, nothing to amuse them or charm their solitude but shooting and a gramophone, with which simple amusements they are quite contented. Whilst they are having their meals, especially if they are entertaining guests, the gramophone is brought out to play various airs, endless laughter and great delight being the result.¹

¹ Since that day we have frequently heard gramophones in the Sudan, and we have always welcomed them with no less enthusiasm than that evinced by their owners. Our enthusiasm is, I think, born of the antithesis suggested between this instrument, which is such a marvellous sign of the most advanced civilisation, and the primitive

At five o'clock we reached a place called Shellal Abdin, where, as the name indicates, there are rapids formed by rocks in the bed of the river. The rocks are at present covered with water, and their presence is only made known by the whirling of the waters. To avoid them our *rais*¹ attempted to take us through a *chor*,² but, as ill-luck would have it, the upper reaches of the *chor* were choked with sand. After manœuvring for two hours, we were obliged to return and take the other channel, with the additional disadvantage that night had come on and our men were excessively fatigued. At last, after the greatest trouble, with the help of capstan, ropes and anchors, we passed the rapids at about 7 p.m., and lay to for the night at about eight o'clock, in the hollow of a creek, which the full moon illuminated and rendered most fascinating.

The Nile here looks like a vast lake, and its banks are covered with forests—a very different Nile from that with which we are familiar in Egypt. Everything is different—the species of trees one sees, the steep grassy banks; even the sandy islands right in the middle of the stream seem to me different from the sand-banks of the Nile in Egypt, covered as they are day and night with thousands of *grallae*³ and other aquatic birds. Animal and vegetable life in this country is most intense.

Near Shellal we saw, on the Nile bank, a magnificent fan-palm, the only one of its kind, rising to a height of twenty metres. This forest giant appeared all the bigger surroundings in which it plays. This antithesis strikes and amuses me more than the memories and melodies evoked by the instrument, for in Europe and even in Egypt I find absolutely no pleasure in listening to the gramophone, however perfect it may be, so nasal and tremulous is its sound!

¹ Captain.

² Channel.

³ Long-legged wading birds.

inasmuch as the bank on which it stood was itself twenty metres high, and was a superb specimen of the fan-palm that had neither been lopped nor pruned throughout the course of its long life. Were I to attempt to describe all the trees I see I should never stop, for they are of all sorts—some thick, high and domed like the sycamore ; some light green, others dark green, of foliage ; indeed, there are all shades of green, and mingled with the trees are creepers that hang down into the water, and are studded with flowers of many colours! One feels inclined to say that the creepers are there to enable the monkeys and parrots to descend to quench their thirst in the river, whose banks are often so steep that they seem to have been cut out vertically from a rock.

S.S. "Dal,"

28th November, 1908.

During the night the wind blew with so much force that, at one moment, I feared we should be carried away, boat and all, in a tornado. It ceased at about 2 a.m., bringing about a change of weather, for now it is as cool as a spring day in Europe.

At about ten o'clock we passed little Shellal, and stopped at a big town, Dakhila, inhabited, like every other place on the Blue Nile, by various Arab tribes, chiefly Fungs and Mahas. At this place we left behind the single-decked barge which was on our larboard, so that it might be laden with 2000 ardebs of durra, purchased from a landowner there by the Steamboat Department at Khartum. The ardeb of durra is sold here at twenty piastres, but it appears that last year the price was eight piastres. At the latter price, and allowing three ardebs to the feddan, the feddan only yields twenty-

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SINGA NATIVES ON THE MARCH.



SPEARMEN AT SINGA.

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four piastres, which explains why the capital cost per feddan is one pound. The needs of the people, however, are so few that the profit per feddan—small as it is—suffices for their happiness. The whole population is well nourished ; one never sees an emaciated person, and good health is general. What has struck me most is that I have seen very few old people : when once the age of fifty is passed the inhabitants seem to “ shuffle off this mortal coil.”

The Government interferes as little as possible in their affairs, save where the parties themselves seek for its intervention. Thus, when a peasant wishes to be protected against a foreign or even a native merchant, or against the sheikhs, he appeals to the Government for help. The sheikhs and the merchants are the two classes that are dissatisfied with the Government, but in spite of all that the latter does, when called upon by a peasant to prevent him from being despoiled, the sheikhs and merchants still find means of cheating him and enriching themselves at his expense, so great is his ignorance.

At two o'clock we arrived at Singa, the capital of the province. The mudir, Nickerson Bey, who came to meet us, seems a very bright, intellectual man. I am told that he began life as a medical officer. We dined with him at eight o'clock, ten of us all told, round an ornate table admirably set out. The cooking was exquisite, the wines excellent, and the Berberin servants superior in style. We all wore evening dress, and but for the sky, the warmth of the air, and the complexion of the servants, we might have thought ourselves in London, whereas we were in the latitude of 13° N. in the centre of black Africa.

There is no garrison here, but an excellent police corps,

whose members are, for the most part, Shakias or Fungs, the latter being in the majority, inasmuch as they were the masters of the country before Mohammed Ali's conquest.

At 3 p.m. I visited the school, where I found an excellent headmaster, who saw me in Khartum in 1902, when he was a student at the Training College there, and he seemed very pleased to see me again. There are about 130 pupils at the school, the most of them being sons of Arab sheikhs—Fungs, Mahas, Kenanas and others. One of the boys is a great-grandson of Prince Adlan, brother of Badi, the last Fung king of Sennaar. People here say that the boy is the grandson of King Adlan, but this is impossible. However the case may be, he is a good-looking boy of fourteen, as black as ebony, but of a characteristic Caucasian type. These unfortunate princes were well treated by the Viceroys of Egypt, but maltreated and despised by the Mahdists. The Government of to-day treats them with much gentleness.

The Fung people and other tribes that live in these parts entertain a great respect for these last offshoots of a race that governed the country for more than four centuries, and seem grateful to the Government for its kind treatment of them.

Apropos of schools, the Government has followed the system inaugurated by the ex-Sultan, Abd el Hemid, for financing schools, that is, taxes are based on the tithe system, as in Turkey. The Government therefore takes one ardeb of durra out of every ten ardebs, and the taxpayer may either pay in cash the market value of the durra on the day of payment or settle his obligation in kind. The peasant prefers paying his tax in cash, as he thereby avoids the expense of transporting the durra to

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SINGA WOMEN WELCOMING THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL
BY DANCING AND SINGING.



A CLOSER VIEW OF THE DANCERS AT SINGA.

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the State granaries, and, moreover, by choosing his day he pays the lowest possible sum! Besides this tithe, the Government has fixed a five per cent. tax, called "the school tax," which is wholly devoted to the upkeep of the schools. All who pay this tax are allowed to send their children to school free, but, as may readily be conceived, the majority of the taxpayers do not send their children to the schools because of their being at a great distance from home, or because of the little confidence they place as yet in the value of the instruction given, or simply because of their ignorance. There have been, nevertheless, encouraging signs of success since the schools opened two or three years ago, for the public are beginning to regard the schools with favour and with even a certain amount of pride. "They are *our* schools, where our boys become learned," is a saying I have frequently heard. On the other hand, I have heard some say that the schools tend to irreligion, that the headmasters and teachers are dissolute, etc., but such opinions are not expressed openly, which affords a proof that the schools are becoming more popular. The chief reason for lack of school support is, however, here as elsewhere, that the parents wish to increase their own comfort rather than to educate their children. Yet, notwithstanding this, and that the Government has no idea of making school attendance compulsory, there are sure signs of the time speedily coming when the schools at present existing in the Sudan will be insufficient, and the need for an increase in their number will become pressing.

In Egypt, where education received its first impulse from the great Mohammed Ali in the year 1815, it is only about ten years ago that the people began to send their children to school willingly, whereas in the Sudan

here, where education has only been thought about during the past ten years, the people are awaking from their lethargy and are eager to secure instruction for their children. They even create new schools themselves when the Government cannot undertake the task. The scholars here are ardent missionaries, who seek to attract other pupils, and they show more energy in this respect than either the Government or the parents themselves—a fact which has been brought to my notice by headmasters and others.

At 11.30 we stopped at Karkoj. On the shore there were about fifty men of all shades, from light bronze to ebony black, waiting to load our boat with tins of sesame oil, and to take off bales of cotton cloth. Several negroes of herculean strength carried off the bales as if they were a mere featherweight, and some of the porters turned out to be negresses, who seemed more than a match in strength for the men.

Whenever negroes unite to carry a heavy load one of them chants verses in an African tongue, whilst the others answer, saying: "Ya Gallab!" which, I imagine, means, "O merchant!" or rather, "O slave-merchant!" or "Hubb Nuba!" which means, "For the love of Nubia!"

We also left at this place several hundreds of empty petroleum-tins. No one can realise the numberless uses to which these tins are put until he has seen them conveyed as we conveyed them in our steamer, and we have seen sailing-boats filled to overflowing with them! They are used as pitchers for carrying water, as cooking vessels, as receptacles for the different commodities of a shop, as oil-cans—which was the case at Karkoj—and stranger still, they are, when filled with earth, used like bricks in

building walls! In short, they are used for the most incredible purposes.

Everybody, young and old, seemed healthy and strong, gay and active. The village is of considerable extent, and judging by the bearing of its cleanly-clothed inhabitants, seems quite prosperous. It boasts of several sesame-oil pressers, sesame being grown in abundance in the neighbourhood.

S.S. "Dal,"

29th November, 1908.

We have been steaming on practically all day, but at five o'clock we stopped at a small village, El Tayyiba. The sheikh is an Egyptian, born in the village itself, where his father was a land-steward before the Mahdi's time. From what he has told me, this part of the country was formerly very prosperous and populated by families of Egyptian origin, but the Mahdists, led by Ahmed Fadel, killed them and pillaged the district to such an extent as to reduce it to ruins. During recent years it has been gradually rising from its ruins owing to the existence of a forest of gum-acacias which the Government is exploiting. There are also two sesame-oil presses.

The inhabitants, who are very industrious, cut down trees for firewood whenever they find time to do so, and the Government boats, on being informed that a supply of firewood is ready for purchase, stop to buy up the lot. In this way the inhabitants are able to earn extra money, which enables them, so to speak, to make both ends meet. The fixed price of wood is ten piastres per cantar at all stations.¹

¹ About two shillings per hundredweight.

The sheikh, who, as I have already said, is an Egyptian, said to me, "The Government is very paternal in its methods, and the peasant prefers the English official to the Egyptian one. Thus it was that this year, when the Egyptian Ma'mur fixed upon sixteen ardebs as the tithe payment to be made, the peasants—both Egyptians and blacks—complained to the English inspector, who came to look into the matter himself. After minute enquiries, he lowered the amount to four and a half ardebs, which the natives accepted as a just valuation. The Ma'mur was transferred to Wadi-Halfa."

During this conversation there was present a certain Kenana sheikh. He listened with great attention to the preceding recital, then suddenly looking me in the face, he said, "Lau la en-Nassâra döl kunna mawwatna el Atrâk döl."¹ It must be understood that they call the English *Nassâra* (Christians), and Egyptians of all sorts Turks. The speaker was an Arab who was on his way to Singa. Finding an opportunity of joining in the conversation I was having with the sheikh, and seeing me wearing a fez, he wished to give to a *Turk* his opinion on Egyptians in general! The basis of the whole incident is that whenever villagers proffer a complaint to the Government, saying, "Nahnu mazlumin,"² the Government listens to them in every case, whether the statement is genuine or not, an enquiry is held, and the Government spares no pains in sifting evidence and in redressing whatever wrongs it discovers. The Egyptian employees, who are on the whole capable and alert, sometimes err through excess of zeal.

¹ But for those Christians (the English) we would have killed all those Turks (the Egyptians).

² We are being treated unjustly.

The same sheikh also said to me, "If the Ma'mur has assessed the tithe at sixteen ardebs instead of four and a half, it is not because he wishes to pocket the difference, but because he wishes to secure a greater revenue, so as—according to his way of thinking—to please the English more, and thus be eligible for an increase in pay!!"

After having taken on board all the firewood, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, we proceeded to the other side of the river, and moored at Abu Na'ama, which is the chief town of the district. The Ma'mur came to see us and place his services at our disposal. He is a very intelligent young man from Port Sudan, of which he speaks very highly. "At Suakin," he said to me, "everybody would willingly exchange the property he possesses in the shape of buildings for bare sites at Port Sudan, if only the Government would sell the sites instead of letting them out on a hundred years' lease."¹

At every station where we have discussed the question of slavery we have found it the burning question of the day, but, so far as I can understand matters, the Government—in this outlying part of the country—is obliged to shut its eyes. The officials in the most laudable way endeavour to reconcile the slave with his master, and often compel the latter to satisfy his slaves' wishes by giving them their liberty and paying them wages. As for the slaves themselves, no sooner have they received manumission at the hands of the inspector or the Ma'mur, than some of them opt to remain with their masters

¹ I hear that the Government has recently altered the regulations, and that land at Port Sudan can be either leased or sold outright, but, curiously enough, the lease system is not so unpopular now as it was.

rather than serve in the wood-cutting stations or other fields of State employment!

The question is indeed a burning one. The Ma'mur told me that the greatest trouble of the officials lies in this direction, for slaves run away from their masters, and these in their turn complain of the ruin such desertion brings upon them.

S.S. "Dal,"

30th November, 1908.

At about six in the morning we stopped at Umm Gerad to replenish our stock of fuel. It is one of the regular firewood-stations, where everything is done under military discipline with the utmost precision and without noise or singing, all the more so as the village is a military colony of old black soldiers. A little inland is a vast forest of gum-trees, which the Government has opened up for trading purposes. The work is regulated as follows:—Towards the month of December, when all harvesting is over, hosts of natives scatter themselves throughout the forests to collect the gum, each one collecting his share, which varies in proportion to his energy or power of resistance. When he has got what he considers a sufficient quantity, he conveys it to a market that is established on the Nile banks under Government superintendence, where merchants buy, in small packets, all the gum that the peasants bring. The peasant has no trouble in the matter: all he has to do is to collect the gum in a cleanly manner, an object which he achieves perfectly well, and to sell it in the market. The merchant alone is responsible for the tax of 20 per cent. which the Government lays on the trade, and as the price of the

gum is posted up in the market every morning, there can be no discussion between buyer and seller, and the latter is paid for all the gum he brings for sale, the amount of the produce being determined gratis by a sworn Government expert. The merchant pays the peasant according to the advertised price, less the 20 per cent. tax, and the peasant then returns to the forest to procure a further provision of gum.

From what I have been able to gather, it seems that the Sudanese Arabs, and even the negroes, respect the law more than do Egyptian fellaheen as a rule. In general they detest cheating or stealing, and rarely carry on a heated discussion. When they are angry they slay! All the Arabs I have met, without distinction of class, give me the impression of being sharper-witted and more intelligent than Egyptians. The negroes are, of course, less so, but both Sudanese Arabs and negroes have one great advantage over the Egyptians, and that is, that they are more persevering. They are also more hardy and daring than the Egyptian fellaheen, but possibly less capable of enduring fatigue. Their zeal in the acquisition of knowledge is exceedingly great: they never lose an opportunity of learning something from one whom they regard as possessing more knowledge than themselves.

The negroes are at bottom well-intentioned, and their hatred does not last, whereas the Arabs preserve the ancestral custom of the *vendetta*, which is pursued from one generation to another. When a negro is in the greatest rage, a mere nothing appeases him and provokes his laughter or sets him dancing. As an illustration of this quality, I may relate the following story, which I was told by Captain Bramley, an inspector at Bor.

When he was captured by a hostile tribe, over whose territory he was passing, he set up a gramophone that he had with him and started it playing a cake-walk. The negroes, who a moment before were furious with rage, became calm and began to sing and dance. Instead of killing Captain Bramley, they acted the next day as guides to see him safely on his way.

At 2.30 p.m. we came across a happy family of five hippopotami going down stream. All we could see of them was their huge heads and their pink snouts. They were frolicking in the water, chasing one another, disappearing and reappearing at intervals. Captain Hearne and a Captain Blyth whom we took on board at Singa to convey him to his residence at Roseires, where he is resident inspector, spent the whole morning fruitlessly shooting at crocodiles; they fired from too great a distance, and the tremor of the steamboat helped to deviate the bullets.

In these regions we are seeing those immense trees of which Cailliaud, so far as I remember, was the first to speak, and which are known here as Tebeldi (*Adansonia digitata*), and to Europeans as baobab trees. They are magnificent trees, but at the present moment they are leafless. Enormous fruits, similar to cocoa-nuts, cover their branches, and the inside of the fruit is eaten by the natives as a purgative. The Nile banks, which become higher and higher as we ascend the river, are covered with fruits.

At about 6 p.m. we lay to at a point about twenty or thirty miles below Roseires, in front of the house of Mr. Wood, the forest-conservator, whose official designation is that of Inspector of Forests in this part of the Sudan. "These are

vast, magnificent forests," he said, "extending inland for probably twenty or thirty miles, and to double such a distance along the Nile banks. Of course, they have neither been preserved nor cared for in any way, and thus it happens that conflagrations have from time to time stunted the growth of the trees." At the outset of the period of six years that Mr. Wood has already served here, he met with the greatest difficulty in attracting men to learn forestry. Now he has three hundred men, and his present difficulty is to keep away the men that wish to enter the forestry service, inasmuch as the limited funds at his disposal do not permit of a greater number of employees. The Government gives him just enough money to dig three wells a year. These wells have a depth of from fifteen to sixty feet, and the water, which trickles through white chalk on to the granite rock, is water of infiltration. Villages spring up around these wells, and men, women, and children rejoice. The duty of the foresters is to keep the wells clean, to extinguish forest-fires at their start, and to be at Mr. Wood's disposal for all kinds of forest work. Thus they cut down trees for the Government, make clearances to prevent the spread of fires, and burn up dry grass and other forms of vegetation. In return for their work they are paid from two to five piastres per working day, land is allotted them for the growth of the durra that serves them as food, their cattle find free pasture in the forest, firewood is obtainable for the mere trouble of cutting it for themselves, and their tukuls are constructed from materials they find in the forest, etc. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are many applicants for posts in these places.

Before the invasion of the Mahdi's dervishes the Nile

forest population on the Dindar was about 30,000, all of whom made their living out of the forest. This figure has been arrived at by an examination of the ruined remains of what were once the tukuls of the forest-dwellers. At present, after five encouraging years of work, there is a population of not more than 2000 all told, but as the scheme is approved by the people of the district, it will not be long before this number is greatly increased.

Mr. Wood thinks that on the left bank of the Nile in his district there are more than 2000 elephants kept in reserve. In summer they approach the river, but when the Nile is high, and after the flood, they keep well within the forests near the lakes formed by the Nile waters and the rains. Wild animals, such as the giraffe, ostrich, gazelle, etc., have the same nomadic habits as those just described of the elephant. This accounts for our having seen but few of them, for at this season of the year they are all inland, where they find as much food and water as they need. As regards carnivorous animals, such as the lion, leopard, etc., they follow the Arabs and their flocks to the uplands in summer during the Nile flood, and in winter, when the water is low, they descend to the Nile banks.

The Arabs who dwell in these forests belong for the most part to the Kenana, Baggara, and Hamag tribes.

The elephants on the Blue Nile are smaller than those on the White Nile, and still smaller on the right bank of the Blue Nile near the Dindar. It seems that the farther north is their habitat the smaller they are.

Every year Mr. Wood organises a hunt with his men. He kills one or two elephants and other animals, leaving the carcase of the elephants to the men, who eat the flesh

and sell the tusks and dried hide. Each elephant brings them in a sum of from £40 to £50, which they divide amongst themselves. On the White Nile, where elephant shooting is more severely prohibited, the price per elephant rises to as much as from £120 to £150.

Mr. Wood himself has had an extremely varied career, having previously been inspector in the Indian Forestry Department, and then subsequently lent by the Indian Government to Shulalugkorn, the King of Siam. Whilst in the service of the latter he almost died of weakness due to fever incurred in inspecting unhealthy islands. Finally he came to the Sudan, where he spends nine solitary months in the forest every year. During low Nile not a single boat passes, and for six months he lives absolutely alone, without seeing a white face or speaking to one of his own kind. His best season begins in December, when all the dried herbage is burnt up, for then he is troubled with neither mosquitoes nor flies. He lives happily, travelling throughout the forests in his charge, the area for which he is responsible being several tens of square kilometres. The trees that grow in these forests are of a magnificent kind, including some whose wood is very hard. Thirty years later, when the young shoots now growing will have reached maturity, and will also have escaped the forest fires, which in by-gone days stunted the growth of many of the now existing trees, these hard-wood trees will permit of a profitable exploitation.¹

The periodical rises of the Nile have created a curious

¹ In all savage, badly-managed countries, the same practices prevail. Thus Sir W. M. Ramsay (*The Revolution in Constantinople and Turkey*, p. 228), speaking of the Konia plateau in Asia Minor, says, "As to the destruction of trees, that is a well-known fact. The nomads burn down a tree to get a single log, and they do it so carelessly that in

industry, namely, that of a few hundred fishermen at Omdurman, who during high Nile fish out from the river floating timber that comes down from the mountains of Abyssinia. Amongst these timbers are fragrant woods, which sell dear at Omdurman, where they are used to make boxes and supports for angarebs. The more fragrant the wood, the higher is the price. As a rule, two or three men join together and proceed to the rapids above Roseires to collect these timbers. They then make a raft of them and sail down stream thereon, picking up other pieces of wood *en route*. By the time they reach Omdurman their raft is of huge proportions. We met several such rafts on their way down after we had left Khartum.

Mr. Wood sometimes purchases from these men pieces of wood whose variety is unknown to him, as he has never seen the like of them elsewhere. If the Nile happens to be very low, the rafts often take three months to find their way down stream from Roseires to Khartum, and if they get stranded several times *en route* the time occupied by the journey is still greater. At Khartum I heard these "fishermen" spoken of as being men inured to all the hardships of life.

S.S. "Dal,"

1st December, 1908.

Mr. Wood dined with us last night. At eleven o'clock, just as I was about to retire to rest, the engineer told me that during the dry season a forest fire has often been caused in the few parts of the country where forests still exist. I have ridden for an hour through a forest of splendid fir-trees, all blackened and killed by a recent fire which (as I was told) originated from a fire lit by some Yuruks in this way. My wife saw in the Kara Dag, 50 miles S.E. of Konia, a man go and cut down a pear-tree with young pears on it because he wanted one small log."

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A COLONY OF OLD BLACK SOLDIERS ON THE BLUE NILE.



BAGGARA WOMEN, ON THE BLUE NILE.

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said to me, "Mr. Wood is a most remarkable man. Not long ago when we were out hunting he killed with three successive rapid rifle shots an elephant that stood in front of him, a male lion on his right, and the female on his left as she tried to escape." Mr. Wood must indeed be a remarkably good shot for such an exploit to be credited to him.

We left Mr. Wood's station at 4.30 a.m. At 10.30 a.m. we reached Dissa, the northern limit of the district of Roseires, which district is governed by Captain Blyth, a most amiable, thoughtful and calm young man, whom we had taken aboard at Singa. We left at Dissa one of our travelling companions, a young Sudanese Arab. Leaping out of the boat on to the bank of sand which formed the landing-place, he laid his travelling trunk, which he was not strong enough to carry, on the ground, and dived into a field of durra on the high bank. I don't remember ever before having witnessed such a melancholy arrival—there was no one to welcome the poor fellow, who walked off reluctantly in a burning, blinding sun, seemingly regardless of everything. It was as if he were tired and disillusioned of life; heedless of the fine and vigorous crop of durra which entirely surrounded him, he pushed on until he was finally lost to our view. I hope he is happy now that he is home!

At 12.30 p.m. we moored at Kor, a firewood-station where there is a colony of old black soldiers of the Khalifa. The sheikh, a fine-looking negro as black as ebony, clothed entirely in white, and wearing a magnificent white turban twice the size of ordinary turbans, was proud of having been born at Khartum and of now commanding his former comrades. These good fellows

who to-day provide firewood for passing steamboats were, less than fifteen years ago, massacring and pillaging peaceable peasants like those amongst whom they now live. "What a strange animal man is," thought I. "Here are men who are by nature good; of that their sheikh assures me, for during the fifteen years they have been in his charge not a single crime has been committed in this small community of about sixty families; they all work in order to earn a living, nothing more. Yet all that was needed for them to be converted into wicked men was a wicked man to command them. If their commander assumes the shape of the present government and orders them to work, these sometime brigands set themselves diligently to their tasks and become good men without passing through any process of transition! Formerly, under the Khalifa, they were destroyers, assassins, and thieves; to-day, under a peaceful government, they assist in the reorganisation of the country. They probably no more knew in the past why they destroyed than they know in the present why they help their fellow-men to live and prosper!"

At 4 p.m. we left Kor, and an hour later moored at Roseires. Inspector Blyth, who had travelled with us, invited us to dine with him.

His house is built on rising ground to the east of the town, surrounded by huge, magnificent Tebeldi trees. From the top of his house there is a lovely view of the cataracts up stream. The Nile, on leaving Roseires, divides into three channels. Beginning at a point two kilometres higher up, the river-bed is strewn with rocks, which rise to the surface of the water, thus preventing all navigation, and the rapids thus formed extend up stream for a distance of six or eight kilometres. All the country

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BORUNS AT ROSEIRES.



BORUN HILLMEN RECEIVING THE SIRDAR AT ROSEIRES.

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round about is formed, one might say, of downs of mud brought and piled up by the Nile, dales being carved out at the caprice of the stream. All the heights are crowned with magnificent Tebeldi trees, which giants are very numerous from Dissa onwards. There are also many Dom palm-trees, which form delightful, imposing forests. Opposite, on the other side of the Nile, that is to say, on its left bank, the land is perfectly flat and cultivated as far as the eye can see.

The commander of the local garrison was one of our party at dinner, and our conversation turned to hunting and fishing. With regard to the latter, it appears that excellent fish are found in the rocks, and it is one of the greatest joys of the English officers to practise line-fishing in catching huge fish that struggle against capture like salmon. At one time I fancied we were in London, the fact that we were all in evening dress serving to assist the illusion.

It was nine o'clock when we left to return to our boat. Once out of the house all illusions as to our being in a civilised town disappeared, for we plunged into dense herbage that grew to a considerable height, and the path zig-zagged, rising up one side of the downs to descend on the other side into the dales, over dry and slippery grasses. At last we reached the landing-stage, where we had to descend a declivity fifteen metres deep, and almost as steep as a wall. We got on board, however, without accident—a blessing for which we thanked God as we retired for the night.

S.S. "Dal,"

2nd December, 1908.

This morning, at about seven o'clock, we went out for a stroll through the place. In the square in which stand the Government buildings—police station, hospital, and district office—all the officials were awaiting us. Dr. Yusef Mubarek, a most intelligent Syrian, showed us over his hospital, of which he is justly proud, for it is exceedingly well kept. We proceeded to the market-place through an avenue of Tebeldi trees, which, planted as they are in straight lines, make a very good effect. At the entrance to the market-place is the mosque, which, like the tukuls of the natives, is built of mud and stubble. It was erected by voluntary subscription, and is maintained in the same way. The Ma'mur of police, who takes great interest in the mosque, sees to it that the subscriptions are paid. In front of the mosque is a sort of tukul, which serves as a school building. The teacher, a poor deformed creature, weak and rickety, with his left arm paralysed, stood outside the door of the tukul with his half-naked pupils, of whom there were but six all told. They pay him half a piastre per week, and their payment is known as the *khemis*, the Arabic word for Thursday, inasmuch as in all parts of the Moslem world the pupils of the Kuttabs¹ make their payments to the teacher in kind or in money on the Thursday of each week.

The glow of ardour and devotion, the joy of doing something pleasing to God, the what shall I say?—the pride, perhaps, of belonging to a religion which saves from eternal damnation all those whose souls are imbued

¹ Lowest-grade schools.

with its precepts—all these united to give to this poor, ragged wretch, whose face was not only devoid of beauty, but showed signs of suffering, an agreeable expression of sweetness, resignation, and self-sacrifice! He comes from Omdurman, and settled here because he found some pupils to teach, and seems quite contented with his lot.

The market is a very poor one, although it brightens up once a week when the villagers bring their produce for sale, and on rare occasions when an Abyssinian caravan is on its way through the place. I bought some coarsely-cut ebony sticks, and a few rings of Feizoghlu gold weighing an ounce apiece. The ebony of these parts is the same as that which was known to the ancient Egyptians, the wood not being black and grainless like Indian ebony. Here, although the wood is black inside, the outer parts are yellowish-white, and even in the black parts of the wood the fibres are distinctly visible. It is, nevertheless, a very pretty, hard wood, which would be highly esteemed in Europe if only it could be transported there cheaply. To-day it is being used as fuel for steamboats, the heat of its combustion being double that of the various species of acacias employed similarly.

It may easily be surmised that the foreign trade of this extreme portion of the Sudan, especially the European trade, is almost nothing. There is, however, an enterprising Greek who, with his servant, a Greek too, sells wines and liqueurs, and makes excellent soda water for the English and Egyptian soldiers stationed there. His shop is the rendezvous of all the officers, and serves as their club.

At about 8 a.m. we visited the barracks of the soldiers employed by the Slave Repression Department. Curi-

ously enough, the natives believe that Mr. Gorringe, the head of this department, is the chief of the slave merchants!

The Arabs living in Abyssinia make slaves in the countries that lie within the dominion of the Negus, whose authority is but nominal in the country of the Gallas. The Arabs carry off the Gallas as slaves, and try to sell them in the Egyptian Sudan; when they fail to do so, they convey them via Kassala, Tokar, etc., towards the Red Sea, in order to sell them to Arab corsairs, who transport them to Arabia. A male or female slave, if young and well-made, fetches between four and six Egyptian pounds. The whole of Mr. Gorringe's activity is directed towards preventing the sale of these slaves. Whenever a slave merchant, or a slave thief, is caught, he is tried and, in the worst cases, is sentenced to imprisonment for life with hard labour. If killing has taken place, the punishment is death by hanging.

On the Abyssinian frontier there is a great trade in rifles and cartridges. The rifles are the make of all countries, but the majority of them are of French and Italian manufacture.

Mr. Gorringe has his spies and the slave-merchants theirs, and sometimes the same spy acts for both parties. For a young, strong man, who is energetic and sport-loving, I cannot conceive a more fascinating occupation than that of chief of the Slave Repression Department: his is a life of adventure, danger and successes. In the case of the slave-merchants these same incitements exist, but, in addition, there is their hope of gain, whilst the uncertainty of their future leads them to exercising greater circumspection and to the exhibition of more

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THE MARKAZ OFFICE AT ABU NA'AMA, BLUE NILE.

Note the line of hippo heads.



THE SIRDAR INSPECTING MEN OF THE SLAVERY REPRESSION
DEPARTMENT.

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skill and endurance of fatigue than can be shown by their pursuers.

The most of the slave merchants know Gorringe, and just as in the heroic ages, whenever a raid is on foot, these daring men give notice of their intentions to Gorringe, either out of sheer bravado or chivalry, or to deceive him as to the part of the frontier they will cross.

The little village barracks of Gorringe at Roseires are very comfortably fitted-up. The supporting walls of the tukuls, instead of being made of mud or simply of branches of trees, are of baked brick. Each tukul consists of two smaller tukuls that serve as rooms, one that is used as a kitchen, and the other as a parlour. Everything is scrupulously clean, a chimney secures good ventilation, and the doors are of wood. At first, when this village was made ready, the soldiers—and especially their wives—absolutely refused to have anything to do with the tukuls, first because the latter were too far apart from one another, and secondly because these tukuls were constructed differently from any they had seen before. Force had to be resorted to before the soldiers and their wives would accept the tukuls as their abode, but when once they were inside, they did not wish to come out again, so pleased were they with their quarters. When at a later period they had to be transferred to another station, they demanded tukuls like those they were leaving behind, and also asked for the same appurtenances of comfort.

At lunch with Mr. Gorringe we spoke of the Boruns and their country. They are, it seems, absolute savages, and yet they have good qualities, inasmuch as they are very obliging and extremely brave. Mr. Gorringe has

several Borun servants, with whom he is perfectly satisfied.

Later we heard a very amusing story about the Boruns. When the Governor-General was making a tour of inspection here last year, accompanied by Lady Wingate, the Mudir invited to Roseires the Arab tribesmen, with their sheikhs, and the Boruns, to the number of several hundreds, with their king. The Boruns were ordered to clothe themselves in some way before appearing in the presence of the Governor-General and his wife. As soon, however, as the dances had been executed and the review was over, and after Sir Reginald and Lady Wingate had returned to their boat, all the Boruns removed the garments which had been lavished upon them, carefully folded them up, and placed them on the ground at their feet, in the Government Square, and went off home as naked as they had come. My informant added, "From this one cannot even argue that they are honest, for what virtues can be attributed to people who know no needs? In order to incite them to steal such things as garments, one must first give them the idea that garments have a certain value, and then rouse in them the desire to possess them! So long as one cannot imbue them with the idea of needs and desire of possession, one cannot flatter oneself that they will ever be civilised."

As Prof. Sayce was desirous of making an ethnological Borun collection for the Edinburgh Museum, in which there was nothing that related to these people, he broached the matter to Capt. Blyth and Mr. Gorringe. Mr. Gorringe had a Borun bow with arrows, which he presented to Prof. Sayce, but before doing so, he requested his Borun cook to show how the weapon was

used by the Boruns. The negro took the bow, stretched it, and aimed the arrow at the trunk of a tree a hundred paces off: the arrow, which was of ebony, penetrated the tree, producing a musical vibration as it did so! Gorringe told us that this cook had never missed his aim, even at birds flying a hundred or two hundred paces off. It is scarcely to be wondered at that the Boruns are such good archers, seeing that they begin to draw the bow at the early age of five or six.

This country is for the most part inhabited by Hamags, a black tribe that shook off the yoke of the Fungs about two hundred years ago. To-day they still regard themselves as conquerors, and claim to be Arabs, a claim which other Arab tribes reject so far as I can gather. Furthermore, it is just as difficult to distinguish races here in the Sudan as it is in Europe itself, so mixed have they become by repeated crossings. Even the Arabs are frequently as black as the negroes, but they are distinguishable by their profile, facial angle, hair, etc., and thus it may well be that the Hamags are, after all, of Arab origin. The Sudanese Arabs give their daughters in marriage to none but men of their own race, yet they themselves take as many negresses in concubinage as they can afford to keep, more especially the sheikhs and wealthy merchants. In this way they have large families, but the children born to them of negresses do not enjoy the same privileges as those whose mothers are of pure Arab blood. The negro, on the other hand, seems both by nature and temperament to be monogamist, and, in addition to this, poverty and the great influence exerted over them by their wives count for much in the matter. Many crimes, it seems, are committed at the instigation of the women. For

instance, when it enters their head to believe that their fiancé, or their husband, is less brave than some other man whose bravery they admire, they reproach the fiancé, or the husband—whichever the case may be—with never having killed a single man, whereas the other man is held up as a model of virtue because he has slain many a man! The fiancé, or husband, then goes off somewhere to slay or be slain; should he return victorious, he regains the favour of his fiancée or his wife.

The following is a true story of an incident that occurred not very long ago in this country. A Hamag loved a young girl, who allowed him to woo her, but whenever he pressed her to speak to her parents on the subject, she passed the matter off with a joke. Finally she one day said to him, "What have you done to merit my marrying you? You haven't even killed an elephant!" The man set off at once, armed with spear and shield, and with his dagger slung from his left elbow, and plunged into the forest in quest of an elephant. After some days he came upon one, and all alone attacked it from the front with his spear, dealing it a terrible blow between the eyes, on the very spot where even a rifle bullet would fail to penetrate the skull bone. The elephant, not anticipating such an attack, was taken quite by surprise, and fell, breaking its tusks and a leg in the fall. As it fell, it carried the Hamag down with it, and broke three of his ribs. Fortunately for him he was discovered, as he lay helpless on the ground, in time, and he eventually completely recovered from his injuries. The elephant was killed, and its tusks and skin he presented to the girl, who thereupon married him, and no longer dared to speak of him as a coward.

I am assured almost everywhere here that the increase

in the Arab birth-rate is enormous, whereas with the negroes the birth-rate increases but slowly. The ratio between the number of children in an Arab family and that in a negro one is as five to two, the reason for this difference being that polygamy is practised by the Arabs, whilst the negroes are monogamists. The Arabs, however, maintain that the negroes have few children because of their being addicted—men and women alike—to drink, and that the children die more easily in consequence of their being weakened by the habitual drunkenness of their parents.

The Arab is essentially a trader, and is eager in the pursuit of gain, whilst the negro is just the opposite; the result is that the former becomes rich under the present paternal system of government, whilst the latter, who knows neither needs nor ambition, remains stationary and poor. Someone said to me, "The sole ambition of a negro is to have a spear, numberless opportunities of fighting, and a wife to appreciate his valour. As for food, he eats everything, is content with anything, and never indulges in the practice of saving money. The Arab is otherwise: as soon as one of them manages to acquire a hundred cattle, he is regarded by his tribesmen as rich; he never sells a single animal, his whole object being to increase the numbers in his herds from the humble start of two hundred to three hundred, two thousand, four thousand, and so on, and in proportion as his cattle increase so his wives increase in number."

On my translating this statement to an English officer, he replied, "I think that the negro, who is of a happy disposition, degenerates by his association with the Moslem Arab, and loses his good qualities. See how the American negroes prosper in the United States, and

yet for about a century none have been introduced into the country. They increase of themselves, unaided by others, and prosper in spite of the antipathy of Americans for coloured men. The same occurs in Cape Colony, in the case of the Kaffirs, Zulus, etc., although, as is well known, the Boers and the English there are by no means tender in their treatment of the blacks. Now turn to the negro in Egypt: there where he has become a Moslem and is gently treated, and where one would naturally expect him to thrive, he is rapidly disappearing, for during the last fifty years or more no negroes have been introduced into the country. To form a true judgment on the negroes wait until you are up the White Nile: there they have been converted to Islamism, and have lost all their physical and moral qualities without acquiring those of the Arabs in return."

We began our return journey to Khartum on the 2nd December, leaving Roseires at about midday.

The double-decked barge is full of negro soldiers, with their wives, there being sixty-five soldiers on the upper deck, and about eighty women and children on the lower one.

As we started off the river bank was thronged with soldiers' wives that were remaining at Roseires. The air resounded with a great *daluka*, which is a combination of songs sung to the accompaniment of *zagharites*¹ and the beating of *darabukas*,² or, in one word, the *daluka* is the *Fan den brau* of the Provençales. The women on board beat their *darabukas* and uttered their *zagharites* in eager rivalry with the women on shore.

A negro officer said to me, "Those who are now

¹ Shrill cries uttered by the women.

² Kettle-drums.

returning to Khartum have just seen active service against the slave-merchants near the frontier. They are with their wives, and are, therefore, very happy. If, on their arrival at Khartum, they were ordered to go and fight somewhere without their wives, the latter would refuse to be separated; the women would accompany their husbands and treat them to their *zagharies* and *darabukas*. It is for this reason that, whether in war or in time of peace, the black soldiers are always accompanied by their wives, for they are carnivorous creatures with an instinctive love for fighting, and are ready at any time to kill or be killed, on condition that their wives witness their exploits, tend them when wounded, and bury them if they are killed. Their title of greatest glory is that of *Akhu'l-banāni* (brother of the girls)."

The barge has become quite picturesque: those who are accustomed to pass their time in travelling never find any difficulty in accommodating themselves to circumstances. On the men's deck every man is wearing the minimum amount of clothing—shirt and pants—whilst his weapons and accoutrements are suspended from the roof of the boat. The lower deck is a veritable farm: crates of hens, and calabashes¹ containing all sorts of things, are hung all around in place of awnings, whilst goats, dogs, and children swarm all over the place, and the women are busying themselves preparing supper for the men, now that Roseires has faded from view, and their *daluka* is over. The whole scene is so novel, so different from anything else we have ever witnessed, that we can scarcely withdraw our gaze from it.

We have been steaming down stream the whole of the day without a stop. As we watch the banks of the

¹ Gourds.

river, we feel as though we were present at an excellent panoramic show. The north-east wind against which we are steaming is so refreshing that we have ceased to suffer from the heat, notwithstanding the fact that at two o'clock the temperature was 90° F.

The soldiers and their wives are behaving very well, the women being much cleaner and more orderly than fellaheen women of their class. Their animals—cocks, pigeons, dogs, etc.—are admirably trained, for they never seem to make a noise, and never quit the neighbourhood of their mistresses.

A group of five women seated in a ring is at this moment attracting our attention. They are dipping bread into a dish of sauce placed in their midst, whilst a sixth personage is there gravely waiting to be served. This is a Sudanese dog like a greyhound, to which each woman in turn offers a mouthful of bread whenever she helps herself to some. The dog knows that he is sure to get his share, so he is in no hurry, and refrains not only from begging, but even from wagging his tail. The non-commissioned officer who, with his wife, is in charge of these women, and to whom I point out the scene, assures me laughingly, and as if he were extremely proud of his female battalion, that they are nice women, "in whose hands the hens lay their eggs." The men on the upper deck are silent and grave, and their faces are most agreeable to look upon.

After a glorious sunset, we lay to for the night at a big village called Bunzaga, where, I am told, tomatoes, egg-plants, etc., grow wild in the fields. The inhabitants gather them when they are ripe and eat them raw. As this district, prior to the Mahdi's rebellion, was inhabited by "Turks," probably Egyptians, there is little doubt that

the fields of tomatoes, egg-plants, etc., are but the remains of what were once kitchen-gardens. After the inhabitants of the place had been either killed or dispersed by the Mahdists, the plants continued to thrive and to spread of themselves, returning gradually to the wild state.

Have I already told you that the artless folk here, both negroes and Arabs, call all white Moslems "Turks," even when they are Egyptians or of other nationalities? Every white Christian they call a *Nusrani*. They themselves, whatever their colour, are styled "Arabs"—the noble race *par excellence*! As for the negroes, the real Arabs refuse to call them other than *abid*.¹

Everywhere, even in the most out-of-the-way wild places, the Sudanese—without exception—know the word *mazlum*,² which is the most frequently-uttered word in the Sudan, just as the word *bakshish* is probably the most frequently-uttered word in Egypt. Should this word be spoken by a native, it invariably rouses the English official to action, for he thinks that one of his congeners or an Egyptian official has wronged the poor wretch that complains of tyranny.

The Egyptians are of great service to the English in the administration of the country, but the Egyptian never loses an opportunity of getting the better of the Sudanese, by reason of his superior education, and the Sudanese, fearing reprisals, seldom takes action against him. In the more advanced districts, however, such as Dongola, Berber, Khartum, etc., the Sudanese finds that it is to his advantage to lay his complaints before the English officials direct, for an enquiry into the matter is always held, and justice meted out. In consequence of this, there is a tendency

¹ Plural of *abid*, a slave.

² Oppressed.

for the Sudanese to abuse his privilege of complaining. The Sudanese Arabs and negroes in the neighbourhood of Sennaar, more especially to the south of it, who as yet are ignorant and timid, and afraid to complain, will in course of time learn to go behind the Egyptians and address themselves to Englishmen direct. When that becomes the rule, I venture to say that the Egyptians must either mend their ways or leave the country, for the Sudanese in these parts cordially hate and despise them.

S.S. "Dal,"

3rd December, 1908.

At about six o'clock this morning it was 68° F., a temperature at which we felt fairly cold. The Nile is very clear now, and although its height is only about half of what it was in September, it is still a magnificent river, much more imposing than the Nile at Cairo. I am told that whereas its rate of flow in September is nine miles an hour, it is now but five miles.

Khartum stands 1200 feet above sea-level, whilst Roseires, which is 380 miles to the south of Khartum as the river flows, is only 1540 feet above sea-level, which means a fall of about one foot per mile. The slope is, therefore, not great, but from Roseires onwards to the frontier it increases considerably, and from the frontier to Lake Tsana it is very great.

It is strange to think that during all the years these regions have been explored not one explorer has been able to follow the whole course of the Nile from Roseires to Lake Tsana, so that the great curve which appears on maps is entirely imaginary, for no one has ever actually observed this part of the stream. Not long ago I read

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NATIVES OF ABU NA'AMA.



MUSIC AND DANCING AT ABU NA'AMA.

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in the meteorological observations of Cailliaud, who accompanied Prince Ismail Bey up the Blue Nile, that the temperature at 7 a.m. varied in November from 18°C. to 20°C. ($64^{\circ}.4\text{ F.}$ to 68° F.), and at 5 p.m. from 30°C. to 42°C. (86° F. to $107^{\circ}.6\text{ F.}$), and that the wind was always from the north, with but rare exceptions during the years 1821 and 1822. This year (1908), in the month of November, we have proved the accuracy of these observations.

S.S. "Dal,"

4th December, 1908.

At 9 a.m. we stopped at Abu Na'ama to deliver and receive letters, and at 2 p.m. we made fast at Singa. The Mudir came to visit us, and invited us to make an inspection of his zoological collection. After having had tea with him, we therefore proceeded to look at his animals. Amongst them is a very nice young giraffe, and two porcupines, whose quills are such that for size and beauty I have never before seen their like. These two animals are, moreover, so tame as to allow their heads to be scratched, and they seem to find real pleasure in the act. We also saw different kinds of monkeys and gazelles, and a civet so friendly that it jumps into the Mudir's arms like a cat.

We passed the night at Singa, but there was so much wind, and it felt so cold, that, instead of sleeping in the mosquito-cage on the upper deck, in the open air, I slept downstairs in a cabin.

We have on board three negro officers—a captain, lieutenant, and sub-lieutenant—who are in command of the company that we are conveying to Khartum. Whilst Prof. Sayce and I were wondering what could be the

meaning of the word *mashra'a*, which is so often coupled with the names of places along the Nile, the sub-lieutenant happened to come along, and he informed us that the word is used in the sense of port or place of embarkation or disembarkation. We thanked him for his information, and prepared to continue our conversation, but the sub-lieutenant, instead of going on his way, saluted me once more and addressed me as follows : "Excellency, I had the honour of seeing you in 1902 when you visited the school where I was at Khartum. I am very pleased to see you again now." I thanked him for his courtesy, and asked to what tribe he belonged. In reply he said, "I am of the Rizighat tribe in Kordofan. My father was slain by the Khalifa, and my eldest brother was sheikh of the tribe in place of my father until the day when Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Darfur, seized him and put him to death, for my brother and his tribe wished to remain loyal to the Sudan Government, which they had a perfect right to do, seeing that they were within the Sudan frontiers. Ali Dinar, however, was of the contrary opinion, and fought us, slaying my brother in the combat. Now, more than ever, does my tribe wish to be under the Government. They have requested the Sirdar to send me back to them to become their sheikh, but the Sirdar says that he wishes to treat with Ali Dinar on the question of the dependence or independence of the tribe, and that, as soon as the matter is settled and I am a little older, he will send me to replace my brother in the *Mesheikha*.¹ The Government has trained me ; in a few years more I shall have greater experience to assist me to fulfil worthily the duties of sheikh." He related this story in such a simple

¹ Eldership, i.e., order of sheikhs.

way that I felt quite touched. Later on I learnt from him that, curiously enough, a brother of his was a stoker on board our boat.

S.S. "Dal,"

4th December, 1908.

We quitted Singa at daybreak. At 8.30 a.m. we stopped at Shellal Dakhila and secured the barge we had left there on our way up. From here to Khartum, therefore, we shall once more have the two barges at the sides of our stern-wheeler "Dal," to the great annoyance of Prof. Sayce. Last night I slept comfortably in my cabin, except that I was awakened from my slumber by a donkey braying in the women's barge. Up to ten o'clock at night the negro soldiers, with their wives, were imbibing their favourite *buzza* or *merissa* until they became extremely hilarious. They then slept till 5 a.m., at which hour their rations of *assida*¹ were distributed, for both men and women are provided with rations, and have even their travelling expenses allowed. The latter they generally dissipate in drinking merissa and in merry-making!

S.S. "Dal,"

5th December, 1908.

At 10.30 last night we crossed the Abdin rapids, and in order to escape being cast by the current upon the rocks that stand out of the water, we were compelled to manœuvre our boat. At the edge of the island of sand the boat was stopped and ropes were attached to it. The current carried us to the northern end of the island, and, aided by the engines, we rounded this point and

¹ Maize porridge.

proceeded a little way up stream; then, after having picked up, on the other side, the rope, the anchor, and our men, we were able to turn and take the narrow waterway, leaving the rocks to the starboard of us.

Whenever the boat is made fast for the night, the black soldiers go ashore and sleep on the Nile bank. They light big fires to scare away beasts, both big and small, and the sight of the fires in these "flying camps" is most picturesque. The women, of course, remain on board, where they sleep or chatter according to their disposition. This morning, between five and seven, there was a regular wordy war between them, and they finished by insulting one another. This caused the men to take sides and join in the quarrel, and the voices of the contending parties rose in pitch until the noise became deafening. The old sergeant-major and his wife, whose duty it is to keep order among them, shouted at the disturbers of the peace, and threatened to beat, hang, or kill them, or to hack them up into little bits, and uttered a few other amenities of a similar kind—but all to no effect! They were quite unable to restore order among the women, who worked themselves up into fury until they became hysterical demoniacs. At last, at about seven o'clock, the black captain of the battalion showed himself, a man of medium height, with pleasant features and a tender expression. He came out from his cabin and, appearing before the women, addressed them, ordering them to be silent on the ground that they were "preventing the Pasha from sleeping!" It was long before this that I had been awakened by their cries, and several times indeed, fearing they might come to blows, I had stepped out of my cabin to intervene. They might well have seen me, therefore, but,

at all events, the fear of awakening the Pasha acted as an anodyne, and the quarrel ended as if by enchantment. I was wide awake, thoroughly so indeed, and I laughed to myself as I thought of the argument employed by the captain to quieten the enraged women. It may be that the fuel which had been feeding the fires of quarrel for two whole hours, during which cries and insults had been raging fiercely, had given out just at the psychological moment when the captain came upon the scene. However that may be, peace was restored on the instant.

The quarrel was about the young, unmarried soldiers. The battalion was returning from service in the Borun country on the western frontier of Abyssinia, where Borun recruits had been taken into its ranks. These recruits the married women had taken under their care, each woman looking after one or two men, with either the idea of converting them to Islamism or of initiating them into the life of a soldier, and with the further idea of marrying them to girls of their acquaintance—young, pretty, good and useful girls! Just at the moment the quarrel broke out we were approaching Wad Medani, a district famous for its beautiful women and for the careful and elegant training received by its marriageable girls. Some of the women mentioned certain of these girls to their protégés, others mentioned the same girls to theirs, and thus began the strife, which gradually became more and more envenomed until seven o'clock, when the captain appeared and quietness was restored. After lunch we saw the men and women playing dominoes together most harmoniously. This brought us back, without any feeling of transition, from prehistoric times to the twentieth century!

At 9.30 we repassed the mouth of the Dindar, a most poetically-charming spot, where forests bathe in the Nile, and to which goats wend their way to quench their thirst in the stream. There also stands the tukul of the Arab Candide who cultivates this little corner of earth!

In front stands the mansion of the sheikh of Dindar, which is battlemented at the top in the Elizabethan style, in imitation of the residence of the Governor of Singa!

We now meet with many more boats than before, proceeding, as they are, up stream to secure the harvests of various places. These boats sometimes take six months to return to Khartum, for when the Nile is low they get stuck in sandbanks, and the owners are then obliged to unload their cargo in order to refloat the boat, after which operation they reload. This goes on again and again until Khartum is reached! A single boat brings in a profit of from £12 to £15, a sum which suffices for a whole year's living.

We have also seen several rafts proceeding downstream with the force of the current alone, having three or four men on them furnished with a sack of durra, a mill, and a prehistoric kind of oven, which they mount on an improvised stand in the middle of the raft! What a life of patience and endurance these men live, and how industrious men are rendered by poverty so long as they are free to enjoy liberty of action!

These men buy nothing: they manufacture their ropes, bags, and even clothing, from fibres of trees that they find suitable for the purpose, whilst the fruits of the trees and the durra of the fields serve them as food. The flesh of wild animals is their meat supply, and the river provides them with fish. They are almost naked, and sleep in the open air on their raft. What a happy

life! There is nothing for which they need envy even kings. They are, so to speak, the Beduins of the Blue Nile—a few hundred men whose business consists of fishing for wood that drifts down the river from Lake Tsana to Khartum. Their whole attention is given to earning a few millièmes with which to procure the intoxication of merissa and the love of their wives.

We are now nearing Wad Medani. The women on their barge are overjoyed at the thought, for Wad Medani is the native place of most of them. There is a general washing up, they perfume themselves and put on all their finery, and they have just sent the sergeant-major along to ask me if I will allow them to start a *daluka*. I, of course, willingly assent, and they at once begin beating the *darabukas*, trilling their *zagharites*, and singing in Arabic or in their negro language.

It is 2 p.m. when we reach Wad Medani, and as we are to pass the night here, the boat and the barges empty miraculously quickly. Many of the women have gone to visit their relations and friends, their husbands accompanying them, as well as the young men who follow their patronesses in order to be introduced to the girls of whose charms they have heard so much during the journey.

Before going further, I must explain that before arriving at Wad Medani Sub-lieutenant Ahmed Effendi el Ugueil introduced to me his brother, Sâbun Ugueil, who, at the moment, was engaged in mending the hinge of a door on deck. As the word Sâbun means soap, which in the east generally and in the Sudan especially is white, and as he is a magnificent specimen of a black with a very attractive face, his name must have been given him in keeping with the law of opposites, ironi-

cally. Ahmed Effendi is proud of him, notwithstanding the fact that he is the son of a negress slave, and that he is but a kind of engineer-stoker on board the "Dal." After the Mahdi had defeated, captured, and slain their father, Sâbun was sent to the Arsenal at Khartum, where he learnt a little engineering, and became an excellent fitter under the superintendence of Egyptian mechanics who worked on steamers and at the Arsenal. When Khartum was retaken by Kitchener, and the Arsenal transferred to Halfiya, he was likewise transferred there, where he improved under the teaching of English mechanics, who soon after put him on board one of the Nile steamers to work in the engine-room. Up to the time when the English sent his young brother Ahmed Effendi to the Military School, from which the latter emerged as an officer, as I have already stated, Sâbun took the place of the boy's father and brought him up, for which reason Ahmed Effendi is very fond of him. Sâbun is quite content with his position, and even likes it, but he cherishes the hope that some day his young brother Ahmed Effendi will become sheikh of the Rizighats, and that he himself will return to his native hills, where, living in the midst of his tribe, he may teach his profession to his brethren, so that they may learn to make good rifles and swords!

At five o'clock the Mudir, Dickinson Bey, came to have tea with us, and he took us back home with him to dinner. At dinner several English officials were present, and we spoke a little on almost every topic, but practically nothing about the Sudan. However, I cannot let pass the remark made by one of the company when we were speaking of the benefits conferred by European civilisation upon the Sudan. "Don't you

see," said he, "that it is all hypocrisy to say that we are here only for the good of the people. If they gain by our administration of the country, so much the better for them, but we are here—so far as I know—in the interests of the Empire!" Another member of the company, speaking of the opinions held by little Englishers, the equivalent in England of the *sans patrie* in France, made the following remark: "Those people in England believe that every one of us who serves his country outside England is, by the very nature of the fact, no longer a gentleman or an honest man, but a kind of brute that tyrannises over the natives whom he is called upon to rule."

In spite of these pessimistic ideas, the eight men at table seemed imbued with the sense of their duty and of their importance as makers of history and workers in the cause of empire. The two remarks I have quoted, and which made a great effect upon me, fell quite flat with the rest of the company; none of them took them up or even smiled.

We returned to our boat at about eleven o'clock in a magnificent moonlight, which lighted up the desert most brilliantly. Dickinson Bey, bare-headed, accompanied us all the way through the silent town, and returned home alone. As he walked off, hatless and in evening-dress, all alone in the midst of the desert, I thought, "Here is a man, who in the Kemlin affair only a few months ago was wounded in the loins, lives amongst and governs alone thousands of people who are, as it were, his born enemies. Alone in the desert, surrounded by thousands of all kinds of Arabs and negroes, going about unarmed, sleeping in the open air unprotected by walls and railings, unguarded by troops,

perfectly tranquil, trusting to the prestige which his character has reared around him like an impregnable fortification—surely the moral force and character with which such a man is endowed must be very great!”

We left Wad Medani at daybreak to-day, taking on board Mr. Sharp, who is going to Khartum, whence, after a fortnight, he will proceed to Kassala to remain there a year as superintendent of the market, which is much frequented by Gallas and Abyssinians of a more or less ungovernable type. Young, fresh-complexioned, full of energy and life, as confident of himself as of others, he is an admirable man. It is with such men that a colonial empire is made.

I have known Turks, Circassians, Kurds, Russians, Frenchmen, etc., who also are all admirable in their way, but the majority of the Englishmen whom I have met in the Sudan, the *vast* majority I may say, have that confidence in themselves and their chiefs which gives them a self-assurance and disciplined character exceeding by far anything else I have seen and known as self-reliance.

At 8.30 we stopped at Abu-Harraz to lay in a stock of firewood. I went ashore and spoke with the chief of the station, a man born at Berber of Egyptian parents. The father, who had gone to the Sudan with Helim Pasha in 1857, when the latter became Governor-General of the country, was at first employed as a clerk, and ultimately advanced to the position of chief clerk. He died in the Mahdi's time, leaving three children, one of whom is a merchant at Khartum, a second is employed at Kassala, and the third is he of whom I am speaking, the chief of the firewood-station. He showed me round the cotton and durra fields belonging to an aged

Egyptian, who in his youth was *khuli*¹ of a big estate in Egypt. The durra was superb, and the cotton promised well. Whilst we were there, the owner himself appeared upon the scene and informed me that, having visited Khartum, he purchased there some of the best durra and cotton seed that had gained a prize at one of the agricultural exhibitions. "There you see the results," said he. "They are so good that I shall not sell either my durra or my cotton seed in the market, for all the peasants round about are begging me to let them have the whole of my crops so that they themselves may use them for planting and sowing." Passing from one subject to another, the old man informed me that the Government was having the lands measured, and that all lands measured and registered in the owner's name must, in future, pay a tax of twenty piastres per feddan.² "The tithe," said he, "would be a good tax, light, easy, and just—as is everything relating to the *sheria*'³—if only the tax-gatherers were not always tempted to increase the amount of taxation in order to please their chiefs, or to better their own position, for they are never satisfied with the remuneration they receive for their services."

I asked him whether the public thus defrauded never complained. In reply he said, "There are so many formalities to be fulfilled, that the Sudanese Arabs, whoever they may be, rich or poor, prefer to pay up than to risk being bothered for months at a time and being obliged in the end—as is the case when an unsubstantiated charge is brought—to pay more than was at first demanded."

The people still remember the time when they were

¹ Steward.

² A dollar per acre.

³ Religious law.

governed by the Mahdi, when not only was from 25 to 30 per cent. of their harvest seized as tax, but also their wives, children, and slaves, and even their *merissa* ! They were only too glad in those days to escape with their own life. In comparison with such a state, they now find themselves perfectly happy. "Every Sudanese," proceeded my informant, "is happy when he has his wife and his *merissa* ; after these two money is a superfluity with him. He doesn't know what to do with it, and thus it is that it can easily be taken from him on different pretexts, in the way of taxes, duties, etc., without much murmuring on his part. The liberty the Sudanese enjoy to-day is in their eyes worth all worldly possessions."

I left my new-found friend with the thought that, as he had been a Government official in the former Sudan Government, having acted as secretary to the Emir Mahmud—the emir who was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Atbara—he must surely be well versed in the art of enriching himself at the expense of those under his jurisdiction. But the Sudanese will undergo a transformation, and it is to be hoped that officials of this sort will be improved, or diminished in number, or got rid of in the end, for it is sad to think that one-half of mankind lives on the work of the other half without giving anything in return.

The family of pilgrims to the tomb of Abu-Harraz have returned to the boat, evidently abundantly blessed, seeing that they have been received with many more marks of respect and affection than were lavished upon them when they started forth on their pilgrimage. I presume they are well-known people, held in high esteem, but I have not discovered their identity.

Day of California



HAMAG MUSICIANS AT ROSEIRES.

To face page 127.

At 11.30 we left the station, and at noon stopped at Rufa'a to exchange mails. After having slept the night in the open country, at a part of the river far removed from towns, we proceeded on our way at dawn to-day, and at 7 a.m. we made fast at Kemlin. There was then a good north wind blowing, which ruffled the water sufficiently to cause our boat to rock.

With its two barges attached to its sides it is a real Noah's ark, comprising as it does Arab and negro Sudanese, olive-skinned and ruddy-faced Egyptians, Berberins, and various-hued representatives of almost all the tribes of the Blue Nile. There are also Englishmen, Greeks, Italians, Turks, and Armenians. Horses, mules, donkeys, dogs, cats, sheep, goats, cocks and hens, turkeys, etc., all are there, and in addition, the invisible and injurious insects that accompany a crowd of human beings. With the force exerted by the paddle blades, and the still rapid current of the Nile to help us, we proceed like a moving farm, accompanied by the multifarious cries of the animals, the incessant hum of conversation, and the noise of laughter and quarrelling from the women of the battalion, the men themselves being silent and taciturn. At night, when the barge containing the soldiers and women is detached, we have peace, for practically all its denizens go ashore to eat and drink, and finally lose themselves in the thickets, where they sleep. At about 5 a.m., however, when the barge is re-attached to the side of the stern-wheeler, adieu to sleep!

KHARTUM

7th DECEMBER, 1908—15th DECEMBER, 1908

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GENERAL VIEW OF KHARTUM, FROM THE RIVER.



GENERAL VIEW OF KHARTUM (SOUTH-WEST).



A GENERAL VIEW OF KHARTUM.

To face page 131.

Khartum Palace,

8th December, 1908.

We reached Khartum yesterday, the 7th December, at about 5 p.m., and at once proceeded to the Palace, where we are to stay until we depart for the White Nile.

On reaching the Palace, we found Lady Wingate and Sir Reginald in the garden. We joined them there, and were followed shortly afterwards by the two Battenberg princes, who are likewise guests here. They are most charming youths, full of life, but one of them is, unfortunately, lame. They were both most anxious to accompany us on our trip up the White Nile, but their doctor rightly forbade them from making the journey. "Being here for our health, we cannot do all that we should like to do," said the younger prince to me sadly.

Covers were laid at dinner for thirty persons, of whom four were ladies. I gave my arm to Mrs. Raikes, wife of the manager of the Khartum branch of the National Bank of Egypt, and niece of Sir Alexander Baird. We were soon upon a footing of friendship, and spent a most agreeable evening talking of Scotland. Bishop Geyer, of the Verona African Mission, was one of the guests, and proved a most interesting man. The Sirdar and his wife, Lady Wingate, were both charming, and full of delicate attention for everyone without seeming to be so.

Slatin Pasha went off this morning for the Kordofan

frontier, where he is to meet the envoys of Ali Dinar, the Sultan of Darfur, in order to settle various tribal and frontier questions, amongst them being that of the Rizighat tribe, which I have already mentioned in referring to Sub-lieutenant Ahmed Effendi el-Ugueil. Since the last revolt of the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains, the country has been in a state of effervescence. Slatin Pasha is going there "to see what is ailing them," as he picturesquely put it. We wished him God-speed. He will be away until January, when we hope to meet him again at Khartum.

To summarise our Blue Nile trip, it but remains for me to say that during the fifteen days it lasted I observed that all the Government officials, great and small, whether they be at the centre of affairs or on the outer edge, are extremely well-disciplined. Everyone seems to occupy himself with his own task, never meddling in the work of others, but always ready to lend a helping hand when the opportunity presents itself, or when circumstances demand it. Speaking generally, the English officials here, both civil and military, are of a very superior class. The people they govern have scarcely emerged from the state of stupor and brutishness into which they were plunged during the later years of Egyptian rule, when attempts at civilisation—based on the formulas first of Sir Samuel Baker and then of General Gordon—were made, and more especially during the succeeding unfortunate period of anarchy under the Mahdi and the Khalifa. The unfortunate people have, after ten years' experience, just begun to show confidence in the beneficent and reparative efforts of the Government—the *hukuma*, as they call it—of Sir Reginald Wingate and his colleagues.

The Arabs of Semitic origin are above the average intelligence, and, in my opinion, it is they, more than any others, who with their Semitic merits and demerits will put the Sudan on a firm footing, provided that the Government holds justly the balance between the various Arab tribes, and is able to induce them, little by little, to renounce their system of tribal life, as the great Mohammed Ali and his successors have been so successful in doing with the Arabs in Egypt. Another duty incumbent on the governing power is to prevent the Arabs from completing the destruction of the native black races by slave-raiding. Happily for the Sudanese, the present Government is imbued with these principles, and, therefore, I have not the slightest doubt that the establishment of order and peace in the Sudan, and the material and moral progress of the people, are matters of the near future.

As will have been gathered from the preceding pages, the question of slaves and slavery is the constant pre-occupation of everyone in the Sudan, on the Blue Nile, in Kordofan, etc., and, in a general way, I may say throughout the entire Moslem Sudan. When I discussed the subject with the Sirdar, I found that not only was he well versed in it, as a matter of course, but that he has evolved a plan which will most probably bring to a speedy solution this vitally interesting problem.

Another question which is of vital importance to the Sudanese Arabs is that of the ownership of building-lands in the towns. The Government wishes to grant these lands on a long lease of, for example, a hundred years, but the Arabs wish to become perpetual holders. The Sirdar has told me that on the sixth of the month—the day before yesterday—he settled this question on the

lines of popular prejudice by authorising the sale of lands in the provincial towns, reserving the leasehold restriction only for Khartum and Port Sudan, where the Arabs do not object to the Government leasing the lands instead of selling them.

Thus the two great questions that cause irritation to the Sudanese Arabs are on the point of being settled to the mutual satisfaction of both the general public and the Government.

Khartum Palace,
10th December, 1908.

At the Palace here conversation is somewhat general, for one talks of everything save the Sudan.

Breakfast is at 8 o'clock. The Sirdar makes his rounds of inspection in the morning, between 5 and 7, or 6 and 8. Every day he visits some branch of the service, or watches building operations, accompanied by his aides-de-camp and the departmental chiefs. Breakfast over, at 9 o'clock he settles down to office work with his secretaries, and receives visits from all sorts of people, gaining information all the time. This goes on till 1 o'clock. Once or twice a week he discusses matters with the departmental chiefs, sometimes individually, at other times collectively. After lunch he works from 2 to 4. At 4 o'clock he goes off to play golf or croquet, has his tea, and then returns to work at 6. He generally works until 8 o'clock, receiving no one except in cases of urgency. Dinner is at 8, and at 10 everybody at the Palace retires to rest.

It is thus easily seen that Sir Reginald loses no time. He is, in fact, as he ought to be, the busiest and best-informed man in the Sudan. At the present moment



A STREET IN KHARTUM.



VICTORIA AVENUE, KHARTUM.



THE WAR OFFICE, KHARTUM.

TO VINU
ANBOLUAD

it is the question of finances that is preoccupying the Governor-General. For next year he ought to have a million pounds, in order to complete the development works that have been started and are in course of execution, but he can only obtain £200,000, and as a result the works commenced will be considerably hindered. The most pressing of these works is undoubtedly that of railway extension. The Sudan is a vast country traversed by the two branches of the Nile, which unite at Khartum to form the Nile properly so-called, the boundary being at Wadi-Halfa. From Khartum northwards the Nile is only navigable in parts, a difficulty which has been overcome by uniting Wadi-Halfa to Khartum by railway, and in order to secure a seaboard the "Suakin—Port-Sudan—Khartum Railway" has been constructed. The whole country north of Khartum is, therefore, well in hand so far as policing it is concerned, and its defence against external attack as well as against internal risings may be regarded as sufficiently guaranteed. To the south of Khartum the Nile affords an admirable navigable way at all seasons of the year, but the Blue Nile, which is an excellent fluvial way at flood-time, is unnavigable for the rest of the year. As regards Kordofan and the districts around the Darfur frontiers, there are as yet no means of communication. The present plan is to prolong the Khartum-Sennaar line by making it pass through the Gezira as far as Goz-Abu Guma'a, and then, after it is made to cross the Nile, carry it on to El Obeid.

The strategical importance of such a line in the policing of the country will be at once seen, especially when one reflects that the army has only a maximum strength of 15,000 men, and that this tiny army has to

suffice for a vast extent of country. The problem, under these circumstances, is a most difficult one. An army of small size in a half-savage and barbarous country, without easy and rapid means of transport by which it may be moved about, and its efficiency thereby increased—this is the situation that has to be faced!

To this small army the desired efficiency can only be given by railway lines constructed for the purpose of opening up the country. Such lines will not only be of assistance in schemes of military strategy, but they will also serve to develop trade and agriculture. They will soon be self-supporting, and will exercise a civilising influence in the districts through which they pass. By enabling troops promptly mobilised to be transported rapidly from one point to another of Sudanese territory, they will secure the safety of the various regions. I hope, therefore, that the Government will not be compelled to abandon its projects with regard to public works in general and railways in particular, and that the forward movement will not be arrested for lack of funds.

I cannot but feel enthusiastic on seeing the great progress that has been accomplished in this country since its reconquest in 1896, and even since 1902, when I made my previous trip to Khartum. In place of thefts, pillage, murder, and a theocratic-autocratic anarchy—if I may so speak—I find a regular, humane, and just Government, whose whole care is directed to securing equal justice for all under its rule, and whose only aim is to enrich the people, to enlighten them by education, and to instruct them in their duties and rights. Everywhere the greatest respect and concern for the life of the members of the community is noticeable, and this in a country where only a few years ago the life of a human



GENERAL VIEW OF KHARTUM (SOUTH-EAST).



BURRIE VILLAGE, KHARTUM.



A HUBUB (SAND-STORM) SWEEPING OVER KHARTUM NORTH,
6TH JUNE, 1906.

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being was not worth even a wisp of straw! Murder is pitilessly followed up and severely punished, no matter who may be the murderer. In a word, in place of anarchy there is a directing idea and a driving power that makes for order and consistency in action; the idea is followed up by immediate execution.

Wherever the Semitic Arabs have colonised they have never been able to go beyond their tribal constitution. If ever they have accepted settling down in the society of other races, it has been with the idea of endeavouring to secure the assimilation of such races or to incorporate them into their various tribes. That they have never been able to go beyond this conception of society may be seen most readily in the Sudan, and perhaps in Egypt too, if only one took the trouble to observe.

From another point of view their idea of society is based, as it was thousands of years ago, on slavery and war, for by means of the latter they procure slaves to do the indispensable work of the community. As for themselves, the free and conquering Arabs, they have reserved for their own advantage: (1) all command and government, (2) making war in defence of the tribe's interests and for the purpose of increasing its wealth and promoting its well-being, (3) raiding negroes in order to enslave them, and then sell them for gain or employ them as agricultural labourers or use them as instruments of pleasure, (4) the right of acting as desert-carriers that undertake the transport of all imported and exported goods, which right they claim in virtue of the fact that their wealth consists of beasts of burden—camels, oxen, etc.

To-day the Government undertakes the defence of the whole community, and intervenes to prevent intertribal wars; it likewise endeavours to prevent slave-raiding

and the carrying-off of slaves. All this it does on the principle upon which every good government acts, namely, that of protection for all. Lastly, it creates railways and a flotilla of Nile steamers to facilitate transport and communication, either for strategic reasons or to further commerce and benefit the individual.

The Sudanese Arabs, who in a general way are Semites, will doubtless endeavour to make headway and to create for themselves means of not only earning a livelihood, but of becoming rich. They will, therefore, in all probability, devote themselves to agriculture. One of the proofs of the theory I advance is that the Arabs are very keenly on the alert, and follow with a most intelligent interest the cadastral survey of the country which the Government is making. They are delighted to possess the title-deeds of land as individuals, rather than to have the mere use of it, as is their tribal custom in cases of lands of vast extent that conquest gives to their tribe. The cadastral survey now divides these vast territories among individuals of the tribe without disturbing any private rights that may have existed before, and it guarantees individual possession by a written and registered title-deed.

If I am not mistaken, this action of the Government will tend to establish the Arabs on the soil, to fix them by making them agriculturists instead of Beduins that always fight to secure what they need by thieving, and that live only on plunder or illegal commerce or their work as carriers. When the majority of the Arabs will thus have been transformed from Beduins into peasants, the question of labour—and consequently that of slavery—will be solved, as was the case in Egypt at the time of Mohammed Ali.

When will this vast change be effected? No one can say, but if we look at what has happened in Egypt, we may hope that in the Sudan the grandchildren of the Arabs of our day, that is to say, the second generation ahead, will have undergone evolution to such an extent that the Sudan will be transformed from a desert into a fertile and commercial country, and the ignorant superstitious people of to-day will give place to an educated, active, and civilised people. The population of Egypt has leaped from two and a half millions to twelve millions in a century, that is, in three generations, and its cultivable area has advanced in the same period from two million feddans to six million feddans of excellent, tax-paying land. The conditions for the Sudan are the same, except that, from what I myself have been able to observe, and from all that I have heard and read, I am convinced of the Semitic Arab population of the Sudan being keenly alive to progress of all kinds, endowed with a great faculty of assimilation, and possessed of a vast reserve of energy and perseverance. It will, therefore, advance very rapidly, guided as it is by a just and firm Government, and having, above all, the example afforded of the progress accomplished by Egypt and the Egyptians.

The Sudanese of Arab origin are even more prolific than the Egyptians, and they are therefore likely to increase more rapidly in a given time than the Egyptians. On the other hand, I am inclined to believe that the Sudanese negroes and negroids will disappear from the regions north of the tenth parallel of latitude, to take refuge in their own countries farther south, where the Semitic type of Sudanese have never definitely settled in mass.

At tea to-day, at Lady Wingate's, I met Mr. and Mrs. Broun, the two distinguished botanists, who started off from Khartum on the 15th November on a tour of inspection. Mr. Broun, you will remember, is the chief of the Sudan Forestry Department and Experimental Farms. We conversed on the subject of the farms at Mashra'a-el-Ziraf and Bor, which we are to see on our way up the White Nile.

The weather is very fine, but a little warmer than when we returned from the Blue Nile.

The Battenberg princes and Bishop Gwynne have gone off on a gazelle-shooting expedition to Kereri, a dozen miles to the north of Khartum, and the scene of the famous battle in which the power of the Khalifa was annihilated in 1896. Bishop Gwynne is a very distinguished man, extremely open-minded and highly-cultured. Bishop Geyer, of the Verona Catholic Mission, is also a very superior type of man; he has been in the Sudan twenty years. Both men are full of faith and zeal in the service of their mission in this African part of the world.

Khartum Palace,

11th December, 1908.

Last night there were eighteen of us at dinner, seven being ladies. With M. N. I had a long conversation on slavery, and in substance this is what he said to me: "It is impossible to escape from the difficulties of the question so long as the word *slave* is not replaced by *servant* or some similar word—there are so many prejudices in England that are based on nothing but mere words. To Englishmen the word *slave* is like the proverbial 'red rag to a bull,' all because of Mrs. Beecher

Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. They will never understand the meaning of slavery in Moslem countries, because they have a double prejudice, the one against Islamism itself, and the other against slavery. They can never be brought to understand that, in the Moslem world, slaves are but simple servants, better treated and in much more friendly relationship with their masters than are the paid servants in our civilised but exacting Europe! What we ought to do is to leave the slaves quietly in the possession of their masters until they either disappear through death or are set free by manumission, and to devote our efforts solely to preventing the slave-raiding and slave-hunting, by means of which the market for this article of commerce is stocked, an article for which there will always be buyers for a long time to come."

We discussed the general state of the Sudan with the Sirdar. His object is to complete the system of railways and irrigation canals, at least in the Gezira, Kordofan, Kassala, and along the Abyssinian frontier, in order to secure the development of the country and to guard it against partial or local insurrections. The army is so small as to be quite unequal to guarding the country efficaciously. One must, therefore, discover means of increasing its mobility, for by this alone can its numerical weakness be compensated for.

In my own opinion, there is a tendency to go too fast in the Sudan, just as there is in Egypt, for there is surely more wisdom in going gently than in attempting too much at a time. In the former case one follows the movement of the people, in the latter one precedes it. In the former case, again, one secures good interest on the capital expended, whereas in the latter case one risks

huge losses in case the forward movement does not keep pace with the expenses incurred. The tendency common to all colonial administrators is that of exaggerating the importance of their task—a fatal error. Sir Reginald Wingate has no little difficulty in holding his subordinates in check in this respect.¹

At about 5 p.m. we went to Church House to have tea with Bishop Gwynne, who is greatly interested in the Christian antiquities found in the Sudan. He spoke at great length on the subject with Prof. Sayce. In the

¹ I wrote these lines in Dec., 1908, when the Budget having been approved, it was spoken of in Khartum as being likely to bring about the ruin of the Sudan, inasmuch as the subvention payable by Egypt had once more been decreased. Instead of there being a subvention of a million pounds, it was reduced to a quarter of a million. There was talk of making a direct appeal to England, of obtaining a loan guaranteed by England, of separating from Egypt, etc. To-day, the 11th Dec., 1909, just as I am revising these memoirs, I find the following paragraph in the *Egyptian Gazette* of Alexandria, of yesterday's date:

"The Budget for the forth-coming year has been balanced, and it speaks well for the work of the Sudan Government that not only has this been done without any additional help from Egypt but the Egyptian subvention has been reduced by the sum of L.E. 10,000, bringing the total reduction to L.E. 55,000. The total contributions are now L.E. 325,000, out of which we note also that the Sudan Government pays Egypt L.E. 127,000 for the maintenance of the Egyptian Army in the Sudan, which leaves only an amount of L.E. 198,000 as the total contribution towards the civil administration of the country. The fact that the Sudan Government have taken on their Budget next year the cost of maintenance of the town, harbour, dockyards, etc., at Port Sudan, which last year was paid against the reserve fund, shows that there has been a satisfactory increase in the revenue for 1910 which is estimated at L.E. 1,100,000. Considering that ten years ago, when the country was established, it was only L.E. 35,000, they may congratulate themselves upon a state of affairs which has, moreover, enabled them to carry out irrigation works which have benefited Egypt to the extent of many millions of pounds."

From this it will be seen that Sir Reginald Wingate has, with economy and judicious expenditure, been able to draw up a satisfactory Budget, in spite of a reduced subvention from the Egyptian Government, on account of the increased revenue of the country.

absence of written historical documents and of monuments inscribed in a known and decipherable language, no certain date can be assigned to the conversion of the pagans of Nubia and the Blue Nile to Christianity. It appears certain, however, that towards the sixth century of the Christian era pressure was exerted from the side of Egypt by a movement proceeding up the Nile, or from the side of Abyssinia by a movement proceeding down the Blue Nile, upon all the countries lying between Assuan and the sources of the Blue Nile, with the result that the inhabitants of these regions became Christian converts. The fall of the Meroïtic empire, probably destroyed by the Abyssinians, made possible the establishment of a Christian Nubian empire, with its centre at Soba on the right bank of the Blue Nile, a dozen miles above Khartum. In the course of centuries this empire divided up into several satrapies—if one may so describe them—the principal of which were Dongola and Berber in the north, and Sennaar in the south.¹

In the eighth century, at the time of the struggle between the Umayyads and Abbâsides for supremacy in the Moslem world, the Umayyads having been partly annihilated—for 30,000 of them were slain—the remaining members of this powerful family, together with their dependents or slaves, emigrated to Africa, from which the chief branch passed over into Spain and founded the Spanish Umayyad family at Cordova. Other branches spread over the west of Africa, in Morocco, whilst others crossed the Red Sea and disembarked at Berenice, Massawa, and Suakin, afterwards descending the Blue Nile and its tributaries. They were received by the

¹ See the statements of the schoolmaster Ba Bikr on this subject, in my letter of the 23rd November.

inhabitants of these countries as friends, and increased in number and wealth until, as seems probable, they were able in the tenth century to ask permission to build a mosque in the great capital of Soba itself.

Soon, whether by reason of continued emigration or by natural growth on the spot or by conversion, the number of the Moslems grew to such an extent that they began to lay down the law to the Nubian Christians. Towards the thirteenth century Egypt was conquered by the Kurds of Salah-el-Din,¹ the Fatimite caliphs being displaced. The conquerors ascended the Nile and destroyed the government of Dongola and even that of Berber. In the south, the kingdom of Soba was unequal to the task of repelling the Arab invasion, which weakened them so much that, in the fifteenth century, when the Fungs from Kordofan attacked them, the Christian kingdom of Soba—or rather the shadow of it, for it had become reduced in size to the town only—disappeared in the turmoil. The victorious Fungs built themselves a town, which they called Sennaar, and established the powerful Fung empire, which extended from the Abyssinian frontier on the south to Dongola on the north, along the whole length of the Blue Nile and of the Nile proper as far as Wadi-Halfa.

It is, therefore, practically from the fifteenth century that must be dated the conversion of the Christian Sudan to Islamism. The Fung dominion was brought to an end in 1819 by the campaign which Mohammed Ali started through the agency of his son Ismail Bey, but it should be noted that for the previous hundred years the Fung rule had shown the same tendency to decline as the Christian empire of Soba had done. First the distant

¹ Known to Europeans as Saladin.

provinces, and then the nearer ones rebelled, and governed themselves independently of Sennaar. At the time of Mohammed Ali's conquest there was a Sultan at Dongola, a second at Berber, and a third at Shendi, the last being the famous Nimr of the great Ja'alin tribe, who put Ismail Bey to death by suffocation.

To the south of Sennaar the Hamags and other tribes had all made themselves independent of the Fungs, a state of affairs which facilitated the Turkish conquest at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

After having partaken of tea at Bishop Gwynne's, we were invited to an upper room, where there were about forty young Copts, who about a year ago formed a society under the Bishop's patronage for the purpose of increasing their religious knowledge by united effort. At the outset of the work of this society a chapter from the Gospels was read and discussed, but this was found to lack attractiveness for the young men, and ultimately the society developed into a mere debating society, in which various subjects came up for discussion. The Copts then flocked to the meeting, for the purpose of hearing themselves speak!

The evening we visited their meeting the subject of debate was: "How to ameliorate and advance the state of the National Coptic Church." As was to be expected, some criticised the constitution granted by the Khedivial Government, others the schools, the administration of mort-main property, the ordination of the priests, the patriarchate, the convents, etc. In an hour they demolished everything, and I was unable to find amongst these young men a single idea as to how the edifice they had so effectively demolished could be restored!

We made up for this disappointment at dinner with

Colonel Phipps, at whose hospitable board we discussed all subjects except that of the Sudan, enjoying the meanwhile an excellent repast, where the wines were of the best and the service irreproachable. The table itself especially attracted our attention. At first we thought it was of solid rosewood, but we found that its wood came from a tree cut down in the virgin forests of the Blue Nile, and that it had been fashioned into shape by Sudanese workmen at the Khartum Arsenal. As soon as the transport service is made easy and cheap, the forests of the Blue Nile will afford the world agreeable surprises ; and as for the Sudanese negroes and negroids, I am firmly convinced that they will astonish our grandchildren by the aptitude they will display as adept workmen. Their eyesight is so good, and their manual dexterity so great, that they will learn to do all kinds of work with the perfection and accuracy of the best European workmen.

Khartum Palace,

12th December, 1908.

This morning we took the steam-tram down to the ferry-boat at the confluence of the two Niles. The tram starts from the Catholic Church and Convent, and passes through Khartum right down to the meeting-point of the two Niles. At each extremity of the tram-line is a ferry-boat ; that on the western side crosses the Blue Nile to connect Halfiya or North Khartum with Khartum proper, whilst that on the east side unites Khartum and Omdurman. It is a paying concern, for, as I have already mentioned, it brings in about £E4000 net profit annually, and as its service is well administered,



THE MEETING OF THE TWO NILES AT KHARTUM.



THE FERRYBOAT THAT PLIES BETWEEN KHARTUM AND OMDURMAN.



THE LANDING-STAGE AT OMDURMAN.

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and the cars and boats are kept in excellent condition, it is bound to do still better in the future.

In the ferry-boat we went down first the Blue Nile and then the White Nile, and finally landed at Omdurman at the point whence the steam trams start, on the southern side of the corn market. The two rivers flow with such abundance of water that the separate streams do not mix until a point several miles downstream is reached.

At Omdurman we boarded a tram which traverses the town, but we got out at the market-place, which lies in the northern part of it. The town is curiously African, differing essentially from eastern towns in general by reason of its cleanliness. It is built on sand, and the streets are wide and fairly-well levelled. Even in the vegetable and fruit market every stall has a basket, which is used by the merchants and their customers as a receptacle for refuse. The scavenging carts are camels, which carry off the contents of these receptacles and convey them to a special place, where, I am told, the refuse is burnt.

In the market-place may be seen all types of Central Africa. Amongst the merchants and workpeople in the shops we have found Turks, Persians, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, Austrians, Italians, etc., and of African blood we have come across Abyssinians, Darfurians, Kordofan Arabs, Baggaras, Ababdas, Somalis, Shilluks, Nubas, Dinkas, etc. The greater part of the Shilluks, Nubas, and Dinkas are soldiers. During the season of the pilgrimage to Mecca, negroes and negroids are often met with, together with Sudanese Arabs from West Africa.

On our way back we passed by the Mosque, the Mahdi's tomb, and the Khalifa's house. The right of entering these three places of historic memory is secured

by an inclusive payment of five piastres.¹ The guide, who is a magnificent type of negro and an old ex-member of the Khalifa's bodyguard, was in the mood for gossiping. He showed us the house where Slatin Pasha had lived, the room he occupied when guarding the Khalifa, and also his prison—the place he was committed to when out of favour with his master—and our guide remarked that he had often taken his turn at guarding Slatin Pasha when the latter was in chains.

Near the Khalifa's house is a kind of village, consisting of a big square with a number of houses separated by small streets. This was formerly the Khalifa's harem. Each woman had her own dwelling-house, and whenever the Khalifa called for one of the harem ladies, guards were sent to the house occupied by the favoured one, who was thereupon conducted into the Khalifa's presence. On the way to and from his house it was forbidden for anyone to be in the way of the procession. If by chance an imprudent woman showed herself, she was either put to death or at least beaten.

The guards left the favourite of the moment at the door of the Khalifa's house, handing her over into the charge of the night attendants, boys of from ten to twelve years of age, whose duty it was to lead the odalisque to the Khalifa's bedroom. When the time came for her to leave, she was reconducted to her house with the same ceremonial.

The youthful attendants had to keep awake the whole night. If one of them was caught asleep he was mercilessly flogged and cast into a dungeon, where he was kept until it pleased his master to release him. The duty of these boys was to keep a look-out within the house, in

¹ About a shilling (1s. 0½d.).



THE PALACE OF THE KHALIFA.



THE KHALIFA'S CARRIAGES, OMDURMAN.

These carriages were originally the gift of the Khedives to Governors-General of the Sudan.

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TO THE
ABSORBENT

the rooms and corridors, and even at the foot of the Khalifa's bed. They slept during the daytime in order to be capable of watching all night.

From the roof of the Khalifa's house a splendid view is obtained of Omdurman and the plain, and even of the battlefield of Kereri.

On leaving we wished to give a tip to our negro guide, who had liberally supplied us with detailed information respecting all we saw, but he refused to accept our gift on the ground that he was paid for his work by the Government. We boarded the tram in front of the Mosque, and were speedily conveyed to the ferry-boat. We ultimately reached the Palace at 1.30 p.m., after having had a most interesting morning's outing.

When one reflects that only about fifteen years ago no white man, Christian or Moslem, could have passed a single hour in this big town of 50,000 inhabitants without being killed or made prisoner, and that to-day nearly all the races and religions of the world meet there, one cannot refrain from a feeling of astonishment and admiration at the adaptability of human beings who are driven to the right or the left just as their driver wishes.

At four o'clock I had tea with Madame Abcarius, *née* Singer. Monsieur Abcarius had, in honour of our visit, invited a number of Sudanese Arabs to recount to me some of the *haddusa* or folk-lore of the country.¹

¹ These tales of folk-lore, together with others that I have collected up the two Niles, I have published in the form of a booklet, through the publishing-firm of E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris.

Khartum Palace,

13th December, 1908.

I have spent a little time with Monseigneur F. H. Geyer of the Austrian Catholic African Mission of Verona. He has given me two letters of introduction to the Missions at Lull and Tonga on the White Nile, which we shall pass on our way through the Shilluk country.

How difficult it is to do good! Here we have a Government that has allotted the provinces inhabited by heathens to various types of missionaries—Catholics, American Presbyterians, and Anglicans—but as for the countries inhabited by Arab or negro Moslems, no work of Christian propaganda is allowed in them. The Government, however, as in Egypt, permits any religious body or an individual to found schools for boys or girls in order to assist in the education of the people, to instruct them, and to raise their moral and intellectual level.

The missionaries are by no means pleased, for they urge that Moslem propaganda is carried on in the Government schools. But how can the Government do otherwise, for since Moslems attend these schools, it is obliged to teach them the Moslem religion and ethics.

Quite recently, a petty king of the Niam-Niams of the Bahr-el-Ghazal entrusted the education of one of his sons to the Government. The little pagan found himself with Sudanese of other races, all of them Moslems, and as a matter of course he became a Moslem. Now, it happens that the province from which he hails is inhabited by negro pagans, who are within the sphere of



THE MAHDI'S TOMB, OMDURMAN.



THE 9TH SUDANESE AT THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN.



THE CENTRE OF THE MAHDI'S STRONGHOLD, OMDURMAN.

TO THE
AMERICAN

action allotted to the American Presbyterian Mission, and as a result of the boy's conversion to Islamism, a great hue and cry is being raised against the Government on the ground that the latter is, of set purpose, recruiting the ranks of Islam from the children of the province given over to the American Presbyterians. But why could they not have induced this kinglet to entrust his son to them instead of to the Government? The answer is very simple, and it is that this savage negro king has perceived that the white Christian missionaries despise him and his people, and therefore he made up his mind to confide his son's education to the Government—which treats him as a chief—and to the Moslems serving the Government—who sympathise with him. If his son becomes a Moslem he will be little estranged from him, whereas if he becomes a Christian the father fears that he will acquire the contempt professed by Christians for blacks such as he.

Bishop Geyer tells me that this story of the son of the Mek,¹ and the scandal which ensued, are absolutely true, and he takes the occasion to refer to the Sirdar's sense of justice and kindness in terms of the highest praise. He holds the opinion that, if the various Christian denominations work in amity and do some good, it is entirely due to the Sirdar's spirit of moderation and equity.

In the afternoon, at tea with Mrs. Bernard Pasha, I met a gentleman—whose name I failed to obtain—whose hobby is anthropology. "There's no seeing through the question," said he. "In this tower of Babel it is impossible to disentangle the races that have succeeded one another here, and that have forced themselves

¹ King.

within the ranks of, or superposed themselves upon, one another, or have consented to live together side by side. It is just as difficult to unravel the anthropological skein here as it is in Europe, or perhaps even more difficult than there! In Europe one has at least historical data to go upon, whereas here there is nothing of a written nature. Not one of the African languages is written, and the ancient Meroïtic language is forgotten and illegible. The Arabs in their chronicles have neglected to speak of other than Arab races. The result is that one is obliged to give up attempting to do more than just classify, in a general way, the Arabs that have crossed with either negroes or negroids, and subdivide the groups thus obtained into Shilluks, Dinkas, Baris, Boruns, Gallas, Nubas, etc."

In the evening Prof. Sayce and I were invited to the Egyptian Officers' Club. There is at Khartum an English club for army officers and civil officials, and I think there is also a club for employees of trading-houses. The premises of the Egyptian Officers' Club are handsome, excellently situated on the quayside, and boast of a pretty garden. The club was opened by H.H. the Khedive on the occasion of his visit to the Sudan. There were twelve of us at table, and a regimental band played during dinner. We separated at eleven o'clock, I having spent a most agreeable evening in the company of young men who all have a pleasant recollection of the days when they were in the schools, where they often saw me on the occasions of my visits of inspection.



THE NATIVE MARKET, OMDURMAN.



THE NATIVE MARKET, OMDURMAN.



Photo. "The African World."

KHALIFA'S HOUSE, OMDURMAN.

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TO THE
LIBRARY

Khartum Palace,

14th December, 1908.

I have paid a visit to the Military School. The principal military school is in Cairo, and a few black cadets used to be sent there to receive a military training. As, however, the climate of Cairo failed to agree with them, lung disease having caused the death of several of the cadets, the Sirdar decided to start another school at Khartum, the cadets for which are recruited amongst the black pupils of the Gordon College.

The Egyptian Commandant of the Military School here is Rasmi Effendi, an Egyptian of Turkish descent married to a Frenchwoman, a most active and intelligent officer. It is to him that the school owes its excellent discipline and success, a fact which is admitted by the Governor-General himself. At the present moment there are fifty Sudanese cadets, the majority of whom are of Arab descent, of the Ja'alin, Shukria, Rizighat, and other tribes. The remainder are pure-blooded negroes, amongst whom are the son of the Mek of the Niam-Niams of the Bahr-el-Ghazal, to whom I have already referred, one of the sons of Zubeir Pasha, and the son of Abu Sinn the Sheikh of the Shukrias.

The only pupils accepted as cadets, and likewise the only pupils accepted for training in the School of Cadis at the Gordon College, are as a rule the sons of well-known families, whose name alone is sufficient to command the respect of all Arabs, whatever the tribe to which they belong. In the black regiments, the fact that the officers belong to powerful and respected tribes is an additional guarantee for the maintenance of good discipline in the regiments, for it must be remembered that, in spite of

the democratising influence of Islam, the Arab and negro Sudanese still remain in their heart imbued with aristocratic principles. The Sirdar hopes that in time there will be a hundred cadets in the school. All the cadets I saw are gifted with excellent eyesight ; of the fifty, thirty-five are first-class marksmen. They fired in my presence, and every one of them hit the bull's-eye at least once out of five shots. One of them was astonishingly expert, hitting the bull's-eye five times in succession with his five shots.

At dinner to-night we had Lord Winterton, M.P., and a friend of his. They are both on their way up the White Nile on a big-game shooting-expedition for three months, and will start with us to-morrow on board the "Omdurman." The hunt arranged for the amusement of the Battenberg princes was a complete success ; they killed several gazelles, and were very proud of their exploit, more especially so as they provided a dish for us with the product of their chase.

Khartum Palace,

15th December, 1908.

After lunching here we are to go on board the "Omdurman" at 2 p.m. The boat is another stern-wheeler, with two enormous barges attached to its sides ; it is almost a replica of the "Dal," but is less comfortable than the latter and not so rapid.



BOATS AT OMDURMAN.



THE RIVER-BANK AT OMDURMAN.



THE OMDURMAN GRAIN-MARKET.

TO THE
AMERICAN

ON THE WHITE NILE

15th *DECEMBER*, 1908—10th *JANUARY*, 1909

S.S. "Omdurman,"

15th December, 1908.

We left Khartum at 2 p.m., as arranged, but stopped at Omdurman to take up passengers and merchandise.

What a noise! What a ceaseless coming and going of all sorts of people—half-naked negroes and negresses, young and old; Kordofan merchants with their wives and children; travellers from Darfur; soldiers with their harems, etc. I could never have believed without seeing that such a crowd of people could be stowed away in our two barges.

At last we started off at 5 o'clock. Everybody that was expected was on board, and we left behind us, standing on the wharfs to see their friends off, twice as many people as those we embarked. Some were weeping, others laughing, and notwithstanding the noise and shouting, I don't remember ever having seen a more pleasing, good-humoured crowd than the hundreds we left on the bank of the White Nile.

The women on board were the object of the solicitous care and attention of the men, who devoted themselves in an unostentatious way to procuring for them as much comfort as possible. One would fetch a jug of water, another would pin up a net to do duty as a curtain, a third bring fruit, and so on. Our two barges were packed like sardine-tins, a very amusing spectacle at a

later period, but by no means picturesque at the moment of starting!

On the first-class deck we have Lord Winterton and his friend, together with the inspector from Renk. On the second-class deck there are a priest for the Catholic Mission at Lull, and a lay brother for that at Tonga. Both of these men are returning from leave. I have been told that every second year they spend a holiday at Khartum, and every fourth year go to Europe to recruit their health. The Bishop having given me letters of introduction to the Missions, I have made the acquaintance of Father Maggio of Lull. There is also an American missionary on board, the Rev. Albert McCreery, of Doleib Hill on the Sobat River.

As the White Nile is very wide and does not wind in and out, the boat steams along throughout the night, and does not stop at sunset, as do boats on the Blue Nile.

We are at this moment passing a magnificent Harraz tree (*Acacia Albida De*), standing in what—at the time the Sudan was first conquered—was the garden of Maho Bey, the Governor of the Sudan in 1826. The English now call it Gordon's tree, for Gordon Pasha used to love to rest under its shady boughs when his day's work was over. The natives, however, still call it Maho Bey, only they say *Mohaba*, without having the faintest suspicion of the origin of the word. It may even be that they attribute to it quite a fantastic meaning, owing to the fact that, as they pronounce the word, it means *love*, hence with them the tree is the *tree of love*.

On the whole the weather is very agreeable, although there is a following north wind, which, owing to its feebleness, is hardly capable of a cooling effect.



HAIRDRESSING.

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TO THE
AMERICAN

S.S. "Omdurman,"

16th December, 1908.

There was a complete cessation of the north wind at about six o'clock last night, but at about 4 a.m. it recommenced blowing, and little by little developed into a tempest by 5 a.m. Then it raised huge waves on the river, upon which its force was spent in a direction diametrically opposite to that of the current. The engineer informed me that he has often seen passengers seasick on the White Nile.

On leaving Omdurman the Nile suddenly widens out considerably, with the result that it looks like an arm of the sea. The banks and adjacent lands are so low, and the course of the river so straight that one fails to see the land as one looks up stream and down stream. To the right and left the banks are visible only with great difficulty; they appear at times clothed in green and with a few scattered trees upon them, at others they are but banks of sand. The landscape is extremely monotonous, but under the vault of cloudless blue sky bathed in light it becomes radiant and enchanting.

Though the White Nile is wider than the Blue Nile, and but curves in long sweeps instead of meandering in and out as does the latter, it is much less deep than the Blue Nile. Its calm and majestic current does not carry away the islands that have appeared on both sides of the stream, as does the impetuous flow of the Blue Nile. Whatever islands form in the latter can scarcely persist, whereas on the White Nile such islands have existed for centuries, and are even laid under cultivation and inhabited.

The annual flood in the case of this river is by no

means great, and in consequence the strength of the current varies little during the year. The water is less laden with solid matter than the Blue Nile and less turbid, for which reason, doubtless, it has received the name of the White Nile, or rather El Bahr el Abyad, in contradistinction to the Blue Nile or El Bahr el Azrak, which was originally known as El Bahr el Aswad (the Black Nile) on account of its turbidity, or El Bahr el Akhdar (the Green Nile), because of the forests between which it passes. Finally, it received the name of El Bahr el Azrak, for the reason that, in the Sudan, black is spoken of as blue in order to avoid mentioning a colour that is held in horror as being *nahs* (of evil omen) !

Father Maggio, who is on his way to Lull and who has lived for many years with the Shilluks, is enthusiastic on the subject of this race of blacks, and has compiled a collection of their ballads and folk-lore. The songs they sing contain, in a special degree, reminiscences of their past history. As in the case of the Homeric songs, the history of the Shilluk kings and queens is confided to the memories of men and women ; there being no written language, these songs carry on the history of the race from one generation to another.

The Shilluks claim to have come from some distant country to the south, which may be the country of the Great Lakes on the other side of the equator. They say that they marched northwards under the leadership of a chief who became their god, and in this way reached the Bahr-el-Ghazal. They followed up its course westwards, and finally settled on the right bank of the White Nile, where they remain to this day. As the number of their kings is placed at twenty-six, by giving to each king an average reign of fifteen years we arrive at a

period of 390 years, or about four centuries, which, according to their recollection, represents the time that has elapsed since they first migrated from their southern home and settled in these parts. The present king, who lives at Kodok, is called Fadiet. The king who was on the throne at the beginning of last century, at the time of Mohammed Ali's expedition, was Gwin Kun, the 23rd in the royal line, and grandfather of the present King Fadiet. Between these two kings there came Yor, the 24th of the line, but he died in exile at Wadi-Halfa. The reasons for his exile were stated to me as follows by an officer of a black battalion.

Yor, the Shilluk king in question, had fought against the Mahdists, and, at a later period, had had to receive Marchand and his troops. On the arrival of Kitchener, imagining that he himself had by his own power got rid of the Mahdi and the French, he thought that he could just as easily get rid of the Anglo-Egyptians, and was confirmed in this way of thinking by the fact that the Government left him alone for a while. As soon, however, as it became necessary to govern the Shilluk country in the same way as the rest of the Sudan, the king did not see matters in that light, and opposed himself strongly to all the administrative measures taken by the Mudir. The Shilluks being greatly attached to their kings, extremely royalist and loyal in their views, espoused the quarrel of the king, and the Government had to resort to force to secure their submission. It then decided to remove the primary cause of all the trouble, and, therefore, exiled the king and his wives to Wadi-Halfa, where the king died after a time. When it was announced to the people that he was dead, they refused to believe the statement. The wives

having been sent back to the Shilluk country by the Government, it was only when the first wife assured the people of the death of the king that it was agreed to elect his successor. Since that time the relations between the Shilluks and the Government have been excellent. The people are, moreover, of opinion that the first queen suffocated the king to death at Wadi-Halfa, on account of his great age, in accordance with Shilluk custom, and they persist in maintaining this belief, although I have been assured by several English officers that the king died a perfectly natural death.

The people evidently prefer to believe in the canonical murder of the king by the queen, for no other of their kings died a natural death. When the faculties of Shilluk kings become feeble, and their age reduces them to impotence, it is the privilege of the first wife to suffocate him as gently as possible; she is then held to have accomplished a sacred duty, and the rest of her days are passed in honour.

The Shilluk code of morals is excellent. Marriage with them is a serious matter; rape is punishable with death and confiscation of the seducer's property.¹

¹“The laws of Constantine against rape were dictated with very little indulgence for the most amiable weaknesses of human nature; since the description of that crime was applied not only to the brutal violence which compelled, but to the gentle seduction which might persuade an unmarried woman under the age of twenty-five to leave the house of her parents. The successful ravisher was punished with death, and as if simple death was inadequate to the enormity of the guilt he was either buried alive or torn to pieces by wild beasts in the amphitheatre. The virgin's declaration that she had been carried away with her own consent, instead of saving her lover, caused her to share his fate. The duty of a public prosecution was entrusted to the parents of the guilty or unfortunate maid, and if the sentiment of nature prevailed on them to dissemble the injury and to repair by a subsequent marriage the honour of their family they were themselves punished by exile and confiscation. The slaves, whether male

The present Government endeavours to prevent the guilty youth from being killed, but it has been forced to maintain the confiscation of his property in favour of the girl's parents. If a man, upon whom the sentence of death has been pronounced and the confiscation of his goods ordered, is saved from the former fate and allowed to live, his life is worse than death. He is like an Indian pariah, and can find no woman who will marry him. All that remains for him to do is to emigrate, with the risk of meeting death at the hands of some unfriendly tribe, or to face a lingering death, for the people hotly resent the wrong he has done, or lastly, to enlist in a black battalion after having become a convert to Islam, which to a Shilluk represents the lowest depths of degradation.

I have frequently asked Father Maggio whether many converts to Christianity are made amongst these blacks, but he always avoids giving me a plain answer. From various conversations with him and with officers and residents in these parts, I have gathered that the converts are only baptised when they marry. A characteristic feature of the work is that boy converts are married to pagan girls on condition that the children of the marriage shall be Christians, as was the custom in the early centuries of Christianity. It appears to me that the

or female, who were convicted of having been accessory to the rape or seduction were burnt alive or put to death by the ingenious torture of pouring down their throats a quantity of melted lead. As the crime was of a public kind, the accusation was permitted even to strangers. The commencement of the action was not limited to any term of years, and the consequences of the sentence were extended to the innocent offspring of such an irregular union."

Edict of Constantine addressed to the Roman people in the Theodosian Code.

E. Gibbon, vol. II. chap. xiv. p. 183. London. 1825.

missionaries have not the slightest hold upon the women; the young men, whether from love of lucre or from a desire to gain knowledge, allow themselves to be indoctrinated, but the girls are not easily led to listen to the missionaries, even when the latter are of their own sex.

Shilluk women are born enemies of the Turk, that is, of all slave-merchants or slave-hunters, whatever their nationality may be! This feeling is so marked that even the Shilluk youths who enlist in the black battalions of the Government, and who submit to circumcision in order to become Moslems, are regarded by the Shilluk women as Turks. Not a single Shilluk girl will consent to be the wife of a *Turk*, with which name the Shilluks associate the triple professions of brigand, slave-hunter, and slave-merchant.

The Shilluk religion is very simple. They worship the sky and the cow. The cows' urine they collect, and after throwing ashes into it, wash themselves with the liquid, which serves as a protection against mosquito-bites. They also mix the urine of the cow with milk and other articles of food in order that it may supply the place of salt, of which they are destitute. The house where their first King Nyikong lies buried at Kodok is held in great veneration, and in every community of Shilluks there is a house, or rather *tukul*, which represents his tomb and which serves as a kind of temple, or at least as a memento of the king.

Their finest ceremonies—war dances, singing, etc.—occur on the occasion of a death; they are veritably a people with a cult for the dead. Besides this, they have, like all other people—white, yellow, red, or black!—their fetishes or superstitions. Thieves and even assassins exist among the Shilluks as they do everywhere else,



SHILLUK WOMEN.



GOATS ON THE WHITE NILF.

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TO VINU ABHAYANAD

but lying and fraud are not among their racial defects. As for adultery, it is scarcely ever heard of ; the punishment for it is that the man and the woman are both thrown into the Nile, where a crocodile with wide-open mouth is ready to snap them up should they be guilty of the crime imputed to them. It is a judgment of God, and, as will at once be seen, is in the style of what was practised in the Middle Ages in Europe.

The Shilluks are very brave and daring, and their powers of endurance of a very high order ; their virtues are those born of a simple life that knows no needs.

On the 16th December, at about 5 p.m., we arrived at El Duem, a large town which is the capital of the province. The Mudir,¹ Butler Bey, came to see us, and had tea with us. After tea we made a tour of the town, with him as our guide. He showed us the Mosque which the Government had caused to be erected, a building that, with its friezes and attic, reminds one of a Greek temple. It was built to the plans of a Greek architect by Greek masons. "This will certainly be the finest building in El Duem," said the imam² to me.

There is no doubt but that the Sudanese Arabs and negroes are naturally a cleanly people, for the town, which numbers from ten to twelve thousand inhabitants, is exceedingly clean ; like Omdurman it is built on a gravel soil. The streets, which are very wide, surround the compounds, inside which the natives have constructed their tukuls in such a way that, in case a fire breaks out, the walls would prevent it from being spread by the wind to other compounds. Thus the disaster would be reduced to a minimum, and furthermore the

¹ Governor.

² Moslem preacher.

tukuls arranged as they are render police supervision easy.

Seeing very many tukuls with white flags at their summit, I asked Butler Bey what this meant, and he informed me that the flag indicated that the tukul over which it flew was licensed to sell merissa, buza, etc. The license costs thirty piastres¹ per month, but next year the price will be raised to fifty piastres. Some time ago an Egyptian set up a steam-mill to grind durra, and immediately the price of merissa fell by a half, with the result that now no sooner is the sun set than not a native can be found in a sober state—the whole population is in different stages of drunkenness!

Butler Bey was at Fashoda with Kitchener, and accompanied Marchand as far as the Abyssinian frontier. He has related to me that, when he was at Fashoda, he was sent to locate a French row-boat that was foraging on the Nile. When at last he came upon it, he found, in addition to a number of black soldiers, a French sergeant. Butler Bey then ordered an English sergeant who was with him to take charge of the French party in the boat, and to rejoin him at Fashoda, and, at the same time, instructed the sergeant to supply his French colleague with food and drink. It seems that *en route* the two whites became very friendly, for on their arrival at Fashoda, when the English sergeant was making his report to Butler Bey, he said in concluding, "The Frenchman is quite a civilised chap; he drank whisky and soda!"

Butler Bey has lived a great deal among the Niam-Niams of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. He says that they are in no wise cannibals, but that when they kill a very

¹ Nearly 6s. 3d.



TUKULS AT EL DUEM ON THE WHITE NILE.



AN OSTRICH AFTER "PLUCKING"—THE WHITE NILE.

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TO THE
A. BRILLAD

brave and strong enemy, they eat his heart and liver with the idea that by so doing they acquire his courage and strength.¹

He has also lived for a long time in the mountainous Nuba country, and has a great liking for the brave mountaineers that inhabit the south-west of Kordofan; all his servants are of that race. He says that their fidelity is of the most devoted kind, that they never

¹ "The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffused over the wide extent of their conquests, and the painted tribes of the Agathyrsi and Geloni were confounded among their vassals. Towards the north they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the savages who were accustomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taste of human flesh, and their southern inroads were pushed as far as the confines of Persia and India. . . . The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the suburbs of Constantinople. The barbarians were surprised with the splendid appearance of the capital of the east. . . . While they gazed with hopeless desire on the inaccessible beauties of Constantinople, a rally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens who had been fortunately engaged in the service of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable swiftness and spirit of the Arabian horses; their riders were killed in the evolutions of irregular war, and the northern barbarians were astonished and dismayed by the inhuman ferocity of the barbarians of the south. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab, and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed a horrid delight while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy."

Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chap. xxvi.

N.B. The Arabs often fought naked, a custom which may be ascribed to their sultry climate and ostentatious bravery. The description of this unknown savage is the life-like portrait of Derar, a name so dreaded by the Christians of Syria. (See Oakley's *History of the Saracens*, vol. i., pp. 72, 84, 87.)

"Their southern neighbours (the English) have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts, and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti, the enemies and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused by an eye-witness of delighting in the taste of human flesh (in about the year 350 A.D.). When they hunted the woods for prey it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than the flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repast" (Gibbon, chap. xxv.).

drink intoxicating liquors, and that when he has been attacked they have fought by his side for the sheer love of fighting, of giving and receiving blows through pure sporting instinct, although they knew quite well that it was not required of them to expose themselves to the blows of the enemy. This agrees with what Gorringe told me at Roseires about his Borun servants, who are likewise mountaineers from the part of the Sudan that is near to the south-west of the Abyssinian frontier.

El Duem is the most northern point to which the Shilluk incursion reached. The town was founded and named by them at apparently the commencement of last century. They were driven southwards by the expedition sent by Mohammed Ali towards the beginning of the nineteenth century, the expedition attacking them from both the north and the south, after having crossed the Gezira from Sennaar on its way to Gebelein and Gebel Ahmed Agha.

It appears that the Shilluk language is spoken by the tribes to the east of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and that even the Giur and Nuba tribes speak it. At the Doleib Hill American Mission Station on the Sobat River there is a Shilluk woman who speaks Arabic and assists the missionaries in translating the Bible into Shilluk. She comes from Omdurman.

The Rev. Albert McCreery informs me that six years ago, when the Mission started in these parts, not a single Shilluk would come to work for him. Those who by force or by persuasion were obliged to come to the mission lands, worked only an hour in the morning, and possibly an hour in the evening; the rest of the day they smoked or slept. At sunset they presented themselves to receive their pay, payments being made in

Venetian-glass beads, with the result that night after night there arose interminable discussions on the colour, thickness, and shape of the beads! "Little by little," added the missionary, "they have taken to coming themselves, until at the present time we get from fifty to a hundred young men every Monday morning. Our farm manager chooses as many as he requires for the week, and sends the rest away. They work in the fields from six to ten hours a day, and on Saturday afternoon they present themselves at the pay office, where they are paid in silver at the rate of two piastres per day per man, and one piastre per day per child. This is in agreement with the terms of their contract, and they are perfectly satisfied with what they get, seeing that the most of them return on the following morning to be engaged afresh."

They are unable, it seems, to count beyond a hundred—happy folks! But ere long they will learn that there are such people as millionaires and multi-millionaires—then their needs will increase, and they will become greedy, envious, malignant! In short, they will become civilised, and will find nothing to envy in the good fortune of white people.

Many of our travelling companions have quitted us here, for El Duem is the starting-point of caravans for El Obeid, Kordofan, and Darfur. We ourselves left the place at about 6 p.m., and are now proceeding southwards in the dead of the night.

S.S. "Omdurman," within sight of
Abbas Island, Ras-el-Tawil,
17th December, 1908.

We passed Koh early this morning, and at seven o'clock stopped at Ras-el-Tawil to take on board a supply

of firewood. The weather is delightful, there being a gentle, cool wind blowing from the north.

In the darkness last night I spoke to an Englishman whom I did not know. He was from El Duem, and as he left us at Ras-el-Tawil and I have not seen him since, I don't know who he is. Our conversation began by my asking him for a light. By the light of the match I saw that he was a stranger to me, but I continued to converse with him on the subject of the Greeks in the Sudan. "They are very numerous here," said he, "from 4000 to 5000 of them, I should say. So far back as the early sixties of the nineteenth century, at the time when Dr. Schweinfuhrt was travelling in the Sudan, he met Greeks everywhere, even in the Bahr-el-Ghazal. Of course they are everywhere to-day, and extend to Uganda, the Congo, and Abyssinia. They are extremely industrious and thrifty, living more economically than Egyptians, or even the Arabs and Sudanese. No wonder, then, that they amass money in an amazing way."

We took in firewood at Ras-el-Tawil, at about 11 a.m., and then resumed our journey. The country is very flat, and the forest that once came up to the river banks is now some distance away, a space having been cleared of trees in the process of providing fuel for passing steamers.

At this place there are three villages of former Mahdi dervishes and freed black soldiers, all of whom seem to be very prosperous. In our walk through these villages the men and women greeted us with freedom and politeness. The children, with whom the villages veritably swarm, are healthy and gay, and not at all shy. They go about stark-naked, full of the joy of life. We have



STUCK IN THE "SADD."



OPENING UP THE "SADD."

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TO THE ABORIGINAL

seen, for the first time, the papyrus growing wild in the Nile. A branch that I measured had a tuft of more than a metre in diameter. There are also creepers and floating plants which form the *sadds* in the Upper Nile, the Bahr-el-Ghazal, etc.

The place where we now are is near the northern limit of the present-day Shilluks, who live on the right bank of the river. On the left bank are the Dinkas, another very intelligent race of negroes. The Shilluks, we are told, are courageous, and for their enemies they might almost be said to be fierce. They prefer death to fleeing from their enemy, a preference which distinguishes them from the Dinkas, who are, perhaps, not quite so warlike.

A transformation in morals is going on in this part of the Sudan. I have already remarked that, in proportion as the needs of the people increase, work—by which they may procure the necessities of their growing life—increases also. Thus the need of working in order to gain money makes itself felt, for it is only by means of money that they are able to secure what they now find necessary to their happiness.

Their most pressing need to-day is clothing, a need that is specially felt by the women, as much on account of modesty as of protecting themselves against the inclemencies of weather.

I have again been hearing that, with the Shilluks, it is the women that rule the household, the young women themselves that choose their husbands, and that, once married, assume the post of command. The strongest and most hot-headed man dare not beat his wife, for he would be looked down upon immediately, and would be unable to find a second wife to succeed his first. No missionary effort affects the Shilluk woman: it is practi-

cally impossible to convert her either to Christianity or to Islamism, for she is the guardian and depository of the Shilluk traditions, religion and historical customs.

The king himself, when he is raised to the dignity of the throne by the ceremonies which they celebrate in lieu of coronation, is not allowed to enter the tukul or sacred temple at Kodok, where the remains of their first ancestor lie, unless accompanied by a virgin of nine or ten years of age, not yet arrived at the age of puberty, and of royal descent. All these conditions are demanded so that the family may be represented in its pristine purity. The women, therefore, seem to me to be much more respected than in even our Christian and Moslem families, and in respect of liberty they seem to have passed the limits of even American women.

I hear so much about these negroes, who call themselves Cella' or O'Cella' (with the *c* pronounced as in Italian)—Shalla, O'Shalla, or even Shulla—that, like my travelling companions the missionaries, I begin to feel quite a sympathy for them.¹ If the country were not so far removed from Cairo and so primitively savage, I would willingly pass several months in the midst of these good folk in order to learn the meaning of virtue in both the ancient and the modern sense of the word. However, if I were to see them at too close quarters, I might lose the illusion which is beginning to form in my mind owing to the talk of these excellent missionaries, who are thoroughly good and enthusiastic men.

¹ I have been unable to discover when and by whom their name became transformed into "Shilluk," but it is my opinion that the Arabs who came into contact with the tribe at the time of their arrival on the Nile—in about the fifteenth century—gave them the name by which they are now known, a name which is much more in harmony with Arabic phonetics than Shalla, etc.

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA



Photo. "The African World."

THE WHITE NILE.



Photo. "The African World."

COSTI, ON THE WHITE NILE.



Photo. "The African World."

SUDAN GOVERNMENT STEAMER ON THE WHITE NILE.

At noon we stopped at Costi. The name of the village is that of a Greek who built a house there. The Arabs of the environs settled round about his house, until in a few years an important village sprang into existence in the desert, largely owing to the transit trade with Kordofan, which follows this route in preference to that which passes through El Duem, because of the proximity of Costi to El Obeid. A district office has been established at the village which retains the name of its first inhabitant.

We left Costi at about two o'clock. It was there where we saw, for the first time, a verdant island of the aquatic plants which form the *sadds* in the upper reaches of the river, and which, in this case, had broken loose from the banks in obedience to the Nile current and winds. This floating island, of about twenty metres in diameter, came right in front of the bow of our boat. The goats we had on board attached to the bow began to browse on the unexpected herbs offered them by the Nile, but little by little the current forced the island to turn on itself until it got free from the boat and proceeded to float away with the stream.

At three o'clock we stopped at Zennuba to get in a supply of firewood.

We have again been conversing on the subject of slaves and their woes. The inspectors do all they can to bring back to the masters the runaway slaves. They first secure the manumission of the latter, and afterwards try to persuade the original masters to take them back as free, paid servants. When they succeed in convincing both sides of the necessity for reunion, they enter the slave's name in a register, settle the rate of wages to be paid, and leave matters to develop

of themselves. In the great majority of cases everybody is satisfied and pleased, and masters and slaves continue to live in peace and harmony. This is an admirable solution of the slavery question and free labour.

The slave who runs away from his master seldom does so for any other reason than that a misunderstanding has arisen between the two. In general, the slaves are well treated, and even those that are engaged in agricultural work are not overworked; the master arranges for the marriage of his slaves and settles them upon his farm. Their food and clothing cost them next to nothing.

One of the most potent factors in the disagreements that arise between master and slave is the fondness of the latter for the famous drink, *merissa*. It must be remembered that the slaves are negroes, Moslems only in name, whilst the masters are Arabs. The slaves wish to drink and get drunk; the masters regard drunkenness as a sin. Hence misunderstandings frequently arise.

When slaves leave their masters they have no means of earning a livelihood, and naturally become vagrants liable to fall under the law of vagrancy. The Government gets hold of them sooner or later, and employs them in public works or in firewood-stations, etc. They are paid three piastres a day, which with rations and clothing represents five piastres a day. Few runaway slaves, however, like this kind of life in spite of the comparative liberty it affords them, and in the end, after a few weeks' experience of it, many of them plead to be restored to their masters. In all such cases the first act of the Government is to secure their manumission and registration in the freed-slave registers. All whose names are therein inscribed are under direct Government

supervision, which protects them against ill-treatment of any kind and from being re-sold. When the male slaves are young, well-made and strong, they enlist in the army, which it is a favourite ambition of theirs to enter. As for the female slaves, the height of their ambition seems to be to marry a soldier.

Those to whom I am referring are Sudanese negroes, and both banks of the river are at present inhabited by such; the Shilluks dwell on the right bank and the Dinkas on the left. Of the characteristic differences between them I shall speak later, but as I have been hearing a great deal to-day about Sudanese Arabs, it is of them that I shall now treat.

The English inspectors complain that the respect of the Arabs for Government officials is disappearing. An Arab no longer dismounts when he meets a Government official; in a narrow road he never yields the path as he used to do, notwithstanding the fact that these external signs of respect are accorded to their own sheikhs or to those to whom they dare not refuse them. The public are becoming accustomed to the idea of impoliteness so far as it is a negation of the politeness of the East. Between that and contempt for the Government, say the officials, there is but a small step to take. My own personal opinion has always been that East and West will never understand each other: Oriental democracy is uncompromising; that of the Occident is compliant.¹

At 5 p.m. we stopped at Abbassa, otherwise Abbas

¹ "We of the West want evidence and hunt for witnesses. The Oriental wants facts and has no belief in witnesses, who can always be procured at, say, anything, just as expert evidence can be got in Great Britain on both sides of any question. Truly the Eastern mind can never sympathise with the Western" (*The Revolution in Constantinople*, London, 1909, by Sir W. Ramsay, p. 113).

or Abbassia, in the neighbourhood of which will be built the railway bridge on the Sennaar—El Obeid line.

After having affected a change of mails we departed, and ever since we have been steaming along between two very flat banks covered with aquatic plants. When the Nile is low these plants rot away in the dried-up banks, and in the picturesque language of Father Maggio, “Si sente la malaria in tutto il fiume.”

The evening has proved exceptionally hot, the wind having fallen, and, what is more important and portentous, turned to the south-east. The spectacle from the river is, however, magnificent. The sky spangled with brilliant stars illuminates our course southwards; no longer is it, in the language of the poet,

La faible clarté qui tombe des étoiles,

but a light almost as brilliant as that of the moon. The horizon on all sides but the south is so brightly lit up by prairie fires that one might imagine the sky suffused by the light of the *aurora borealis*.

At this period of the year, when the herbage that sprang up everywhere as soon as the periodical rains were over begins to wither, the inhabitants set fire to it *in situ*. The sky becomes so brightly illuminated by these fires that one feels sure the moon must be rising. The effect is much more striking than the glare one sees at night on approaching a large city, and the sight is at once both fine and impressive. We remained on deck quite late, in order to enjoy so novel a spectacle.

When the rainy season, which lasts from May to September, is over, herbage springs up everywhere and rises to a height of several metres. A man on horseback, and even an elephant, becomes lost to view in it. In



A PRAIRIE FIRE.



BUILDING TUKULS.

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about November or December, or in some seasons as early as October, this high herbage dries up and the natives set fire to it in order to disencumber the soil of its presence, anxious as they are to prepare the soil for cultivation. The fire is, of course, rapidly propagated, and under favourable conditions—direction of the wind, dryness of the air, etc.—assumes gigantic proportions, extending as it does over an area of several square miles, and passing even over forests which the fire deteriorates by half burning the trees. Everything it meets in its course is burnt up, from mosquitoes to elephants, should such happen to be caught up by the rushing furnace!

At about four o'clock we passed Gebelein. This, as the name implies, is a couple of hills so situated on the Nile as to remind one of Gebelein on the Nile in Egypt.

As I proceed on my journey it is a source of continual astonishment to me to observe the numerous differences between the Blue Nile and the White Nile, these two rivers that form the Nile, which itself is very different between Khartum and Assuan from what it is between Assuan and Cairo, and again in the Delta, between Cairo and the Mediterranean. What most appeals to me, though, is the Egyptian Nile—so calm, majestic, and full of memories is it! But the two Niles in the Sudan, especially the White Nile, possess irresistible attraction for those who live there, in spite of the many disadvantages from which they suffer. The white man seems to be attracted to these districts by a mysterious atavistic force.¹

¹This reminds me of the theories of Sir W. Lawrence at the commencement of the nineteenth century, and of those of Huxley, who held that all the races of mankind proceed from one common stock, a statement which agrees with the story told in Genesis.

Those countries through which the Blue Nile passes, that have felt the influence of the Moslem civilisation of the Arabs, disturb the white man, be he Asiatic or European, Moslem or Christian, whereas on the White Nile, amidst Shilluks and Dinkas, the whites feel perfectly tranquil, and the blacks there accommodate themselves very easily to the spirit of equity now reigning in the Sudan. They are even attracted, with no *arrière-pensée*, and in full confidence, towards the whites who govern them, and who protect them not only against their enemies, the slave-merchants, but also against one another.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

19th December, 1908.

At 1 p.m. we called at a firewood-station within about two miles of Renk, and remained there till 5 p.m.

Lord Winterton, his friend Tower, and Woodward, the Renk inspector, all three boarded a *nuggar*¹ in the hope of reaching Renk during the day time, the inspector to resume service and retake possession of his house, and the hunters to instal themselves on their hunting *gayassa*.²

We went ashore with Professor Sayce for a walk, as is our habit at every stopping-place, passing through the village on our way to the forest, which is about a kilometre beyond. The village is a station for old soldiers, liberated slaves, Baggaras and other dervishes of the Mahdi. Men, women, and children all seemed quite happy. The men were carrying firewood to the boat, the women busying themselves with domestic duties or attending to the poultry, whilst the children

¹ A big barge.

² A Nile boat.



Photo. "The African World."

BUFFALO, SHOT ON THE WHITE NILE.



Photo. "The African World."

ELEPHANT, KILLED AT KARIMA.

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TO MY
AFFECTION

were playing with the dogs and goats. Shyness seems to be unknown in this composite community; everybody, especially the women, returned our greetings, and whether they were kneading dough to make bread, or washing clothes, they all greeted us with a smile. The women do not veil their faces, and, like the men, are fully clothed; the children, however, run about stark-naked. The population of this Government village is entirely Moslem, and I dwell somewhat on the subject of its inhabitants because I am unable to account for their extremely happy disposition. Not only were our salutations answered good-humouredly, but—and especially so with the women—in terms of the choicest benediction. Even the dogs—a species resembling Abyssinian greyhounds or Berberin *slugi*—after barking at us, for mere form's sake, one might say, accompanied us into the forest as though either to show us the way or to protect us, or at least to hunt in our company.

I cannot refrain from wondering why it is that this village, with its tukuls built in the shade of magnificent trees, and its prepossessing people, has made so great an impression upon me. At night I found myself wondering whether, the day they become civilised, their gaiety and contempt for the comforts of life will not vanish. They will not laugh then as now, nor will they prove so attractive to strangers, so amiable and confiding as they are at present.

At five o'clock we left the village, the name of which I did not even seek to discover, and after an hour's journey we lay to at the quayside of Renk. We suffered a disappointment through arriving at this hour of the evening, inasmuch as the inspector, who was acting as *locum tenens* for Woodward, our companion on board

up to a short time ago, had gathered together a large number of Dinkas with the intention of making them perform their war-dance before us in honour of our arrival. But as we arrived after nightfall, they had all been sent back home. We felt a little consoled, though, on being informed that they would still eat the ox and drink the merissa provided for them after having danced for their own amusement, which is, after all, probably all they really care for.

We resumed our journey from Renk at 9 p.m. At about 7 a.m. to-day we passed Gebel Ahmed Agha, a hill of from 300 to 400 metres high, rounded at the top and covered with trees; standing in the midst of a very flat country, it has the appearance of being much higher than it really is. Its name, a black officer informed me, is that of a Turkish Bashi-Bazuk Sanjak, who in 1821 accompanied Prince Ibrahim Pasha in his Sudan Expedition.

After Ibrahim Pasha and his army had crossed the Gezira, this Ahmed Agha reconnoitred for him, and, so far as I understand, the most southern point on the Nile reached by Ibrahim Pasha's expedition is the place which bears Ahmed Agha's name. From there the Prince returned to Feizoghlu, where his brother Ismail Bey was, then, after the two had joined forces, Ibrahim Pasha, being seized with dysentery, hastily made his way back to Egypt, and Linant Pasha, who accompanied the expedition, returned there with him. This hill, then, or rather mountain, as it is called by the Sudanese, took the name of Gebel¹ Ahmed Agha from Sanjak Ahmed Agha, who occupied it with his Bashi-Bazuks.

At 9.30 a.m. we stopped at Mashra el Ziraf to

¹ Mountain.



A DINKA VILLAGE.



A DINKA TUKUL.

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TO THE
ABORIGINAL

replenish our firewood. The inhabitants of all these parts are Dinkas. Last night at Renk I saw several of them at close quarters. The Renk inspector who had been on the boat with us said to me, "This is quite an extraordinary occurrence—Dinkas working at unloading my baggage!" "Why do you regard their doing so as extraordinary?" I asked. "Because it is the first time since I have lived amongst these people that I have seen them working for anybody but themselves!" was his reply. We were talking on the upper deck, but in order to see the Dinkas better I went below. They are tall, fine-looking, well-built, muscular fellows, of a Florentine-brown hue, and their long legs, though extremely skinny, gave the impression of strength. In their shock heads they had stuck feathers, and around their necks they wore strings of multi-coloured beads. Apart from such ornaments, and the bracelets and anklets of iron, copper, or tin that they also wore, they were all of them absolutely naked. They worked very energetically, in perfect good humour, and with a smile on their faces. Whenever they were jostled by the Berberine or negro sailors, they vigorously returned the jostling, keeping straight on in their course all the while.

Never within living memory had Dinkas before been seen working at Renk of their own accord, even to gain a little money. It appears that yesterday afternoon the six men came to the inspector and asked him to allow them to load and unload the boat that was expected to arrive. They were a part of the troop of Dinkas that had come to Renk to fête our arrival with dances. Of course the inspector gladly gave the required permission, but what do you suppose is the reason that induced them to ask for work? It is no other than that

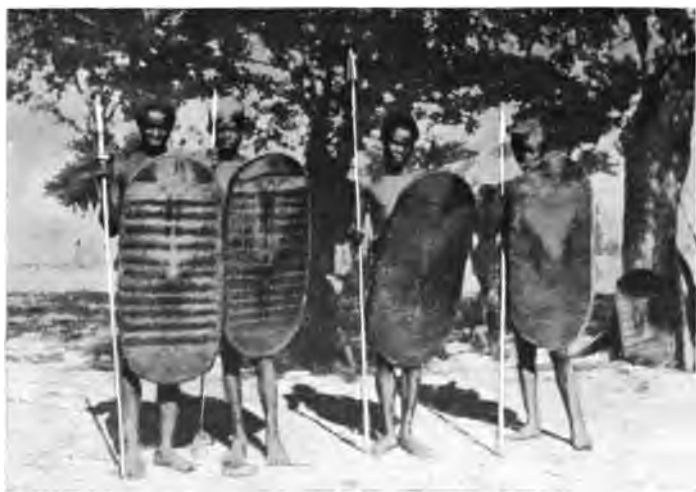
they are in a hurry to marry, and in need of money to buy the cattle necessary to provide a dowry! Surely this is the beginning of civilisation and progress as we understand them.

These are the first Dinkas we have seen. Contrary to the Shilluks, the Dinkas are a democratic people. They have no king; each village or community has its sheikh or chief, the name "sheikh" having been adopted by them from their Arab neighbours of Kordofan. If the sheikh fails to please an individual, the latter is free to leave his village, and to place himself under the protection of the chief of some other community. Should the majority of a village fail to approve of the ruling chief, they meet in solemn conclave and elect another in his place. The present Government, in order to prevent the party strife that so often ends in pitched battles between villagers of one and the same community, requires that whenever villagers wish to change their sheikh they must first of all present a petition to that effect to the Government authorities. The petition, which is most often laid verbally before an official, is followed up by an enquiry being held. In the end the Government either dismisses the old sheikh and sanctions the appointment of a new one, or it maintains the old regime and disregards the election of a new chief. In the latter case, however, the Government cannot prevent all those who seek the removal of the existing chief from leaving him, to find protection elsewhere, or to form a new community and elect their own chief to the headship of it.

Dinka women are small and ugly, and are treated as slaves in every way. Nevertheless, should they find themselves worse treated than they think they deserve,



DINKA TRIBESMEN.



DINKA WARRIORS.

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TO MY
ANBONY

they have the right to return home, that is, to the house of their parents or other relatives, but in such a case they must return the husband's dowry. They are neither so free nor so highly esteemed as the Shilluk women, and the morals of the Dinkas are affected by their immediate neighbours, the Arabs. The Dinkas are, moreover, more demoralised by slave-hunting than the Shilluks, owing to their more frequently being the victims thereof.

The dowry of a Dinka bride is ten head of cattle, but if a Dinka man wishes to marry a Shilluk woman he must provide twice or thrice as many, and that in spite of the fact that the dowry a Shilluk woman brings to a husband of her own race is seldom more than ten head of cattle. The reason for this is that the Shilluk women are considered handsomer and of a race superior to, and more aristocratic than, that of the Dinkas.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

20th December, 1908.

The heat yesterday and the day before was very great ; there was not a place on the boat where a breath of air could be found, whether the boat was at rest or in motion.

At Mashra'a el Ziraf, one of the india-rubber plantations, where, as I have already said, we stopped at 9.30 a.m. yesterday, the head of the plantation is an Armenian, Monsieur Nourian, son of Nourian Effendi, a Councillor of State at Constantinople, whom I used to know. Monsieur Nourian lives quite alone here with about forty Arabised and Islamised negroes that come from Wad Medani on the Blue Nile. These negroes are engaged as labourers for the period of a year, at the end

of which time they may either renew their engagement or be sent back home. I spoke to several of them, and they all expressed their desire to return to the Blue Nile. They find themselves homesick on the White Nile, where, they say, they are in the midst of *wahash*.¹

The india-rubber creeper grows well here, and the attempts made at cotton growing seem to me very promising.

We stopped again at 11 p.m. yesterday to take in firewood, and this morning at about two o'clock we called at Kaka, which marks the northern limit of the Shilluk country. At four o'clock we called at Malut, where we received a telegram from the Mudir, Matthews Bey, to welcome us on our arrival and to invite us to dine with him in the evening at Kodok. Kodok is the official name of the chief town of the Mudiria,² and this town is no other than Fashoda. Since the *entente cordiale* which was brought about between France and England in 1904, the name Fashoda has dropped out of official existence.

We reached Kodok at three o'clock this afternoon, but the town itself is really about half a kilometre away from the Nile. There left us at this place the few negro soldiers and their harems that we had brought along from Khartum, together with the regimental captain, whose conversation had greatly interested us on the way. He formerly belonged to the old Egyptian army, and afterwards served under the Mahdi and the Khalifa; now he is in the modern Egyptian army. He is quite a philosopher in his way, and so long as he is on the safe side of things everything seems well-ordained and the world the best possible of abodes.

¹ Savages.

² Province.

The Mudir has had an embankment built to connect the higher ground to a kind of wharf where the boats stop, and the embankment boasts of a narrow-gauge railway-line by which merchandise and baggage are conveyed to the town.

The order of proceedings when we stopped at the wharf was that first the mail was taken ashore, then the soldiers followed, and after them the women were helped to disembark ; lastly came the baggage, army stores, and goods for the merchants of the place. Everything was placed on shore in perfect order by the soldiers from our boat, aided by others detailed for duty from the local garrison. In less than half an hour everything was laid on the trolleys, which were then rolled along the rails to the town. The work was accomplished without much noise and with scarcely any talking, thanks to my friend the captain, who took the matter in hand personally. He is a Shilluk in command of Shilluks, who, like himself, have been Islamised without losing their respect for authority or even monarchical discipline.

Matthews Bey came himself to bid us welcome. We had already met him at Khartum at the Palace. He is a most gentlemanly man, and entertains for these regions and their inhabitants quite a special affection. He devotes a large part of his salary to the service of the poor and needy, his charity and altruism being equalled only by his activity and his spirit of justice and equity. He is, in addition to all this, a man of great firmness and courage. These points of his character I learnt from several who are under his authority.

Whilst we were having tea together on board, we naturally discussed the Shilluks, and Matthews Bey related quite a recent incident illustrative of their

honesty. At Doleib Hill on the Sobat River the American missionaries had planted orange and lemon trees. The latter having borne fruit, Dr. Lambie, of the Mission, wishing to give pleasure to Matthews Bey, told off one of his Shilluk labourers to carry a present of lemons to Kodok, and to hand them over to the Mudir personally. The Shilluk started off on his errand, and ultimately reached his destination. In obedience to the instructions given him, he presented himself before the Mudir, and handed over to him the letter and parcel with which he had been entrusted. Matthews Bey, delighted to have the lemons, pulled out a twenty-piastre piece¹ from his pocket to give to the messenger, but the man quietly said, "The Doctor forbade me to take anything," and turning on his heels went off without even waiting for an answer in the shape of an acknowledgment that the parcel had duly reached its destination. It never entered his mind that Dr. Lambie might doubt whether he had executed his commission. Matthews Bey had to send his thanks by post.²

¹ Value, a dollar.

² I think it is worth while to compare this incident with one which I have read on page 251 of Comte de Noé's *Memoirs relatifs à l'expédition anglaise de l'Inde en Egypte* (1826) :

"Sir William Burroughs, the Public Prosecutor of Bengal, arrived at Giza from India in the month of March. He was on his way home to England travelling by the same route as ourselves. A rather extraordinary incident happened to him which I will relate because it does honour to the Beys and the Arabs, who in general do not pride themselves on the possession of the virtue of fidelity. When he left Kena on his way down the Nile his servant forgot to bring away from the house where they had been staying a cash-box, which contained letters of exchange, a considerable sum of money in gold, jewels, and other precious objects; the lock being damaged anyone could open the box with ease. The servant failed to realise what he had done until he and his master had travelled some considerable distance. On arriving at Giza, Sir Wm. Burroughs mentioned the

Univ. of
California



DINKA FISHERMEN.



A GROUP OF DINKAS (MEN AND WOMEN)

Dinkas rest whilst standing by supporting one leg against the other.

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To give us an idea of justice as it is understood by the inhabitants of the White Nile, the Mudir related the following story. An old Dinka had been sent by the inspector at Ziraf to his colleague at Sobat to complain to the latter that his son had been killed and his body thrown into the Nile as food for the crocodiles. Accompanied by another of his sons, the old man arrived at Abwong, and the two men sat down in the court-room, listening with interest to a case that was being tried whilst

loss he had sustained to General Ramsay, and begged him to lay the matter before Ibrahim Bey and Selim Bey. The General at once wrote a letter and sent it by his courier to the Beys, not without a feeling of anxiety as to what might happen on the courier's arrival, considering the troublous times through which the country was then passing. However, before the General's letter could reach its destination, the Sheikh of Kena, to whom the cash-box had been handed over by the people of the house where Sir Wm. Burroughs had been staying, sent information of the matter to Ibrahim Bey. The latter without delay ordered the son of a Beduin chief to convey the box to Cairo by way of the desert, in order to avoid the Turks, and to hand it over on his arrival in the capital to General Ramsay. He at the same time wrote to General Ramsay to express his pleasure at being able in some small way to show his gratitude for the kindness that had been shown him. I received the cash-box from the General, and notwithstanding that it was unlocked, and that the lid was only held in place by tape stamped with Ibrahim's seal, nothing was found to be missing when the contents were checked with the list given me by its owner. The Beduin asked for a written declaration stating that the cash-box was intact, and requested a reply to the Bey's letter. The General gave him both the declaration and the letter, and offered the man a reward in the name of the baronet, but the Beduin refused to accept it on the ground that Ibrahim Bey had expressly forbidden him to take anything."

Comte de Noé adds in a note on page 254, that "Ibrahim Bey, for the sake of further precaution, had taken hostages from the Beduin's family, and the messenger was therefore in a hurry to get back home in order to restore his relatives to liberty."

This happened in Egypt in 1800. The incident related by Matthews Bey occurred on the White Nile in 1908, about a century later. The hero of the former incident was a Moslem Beduin, that of the latter a black pagan Shilluk. Are honesty and fidelity virtues natural to that society which we stigmatise as savage, and yet so unnatural in our civilised society as to need to be inculcated?

they were awaiting their turn. They observed that the inspector took enormous trouble to get the rights of the plaintiff's case, and when the plaintiff had ceased to state his case, they expected that the inspector would at once pronounce judgment against the defendant. Great was their astonishment, therefore, when they found that the inspector required the defendant to give all the details of his story, and that after prolonged questioning and answering, the inspector decided in favour of the defendant. Terrified and scandalised, the two men rose and left the court-room. "Father," said the son, "this won't do for us, for this man hears both sides." On this they both hastened away.

I must also repeat an anecdote related by the Mudir to illustrate the attachment of the Shilluks for monarchical institutions, and their loyalty to their *mek* or king. This word *mek* is a corruption of the Arabic word *melek*, meaning king.

Once whilst Matthews Bey was on summer leave the Mudiria¹ was committed to the care of Inspector W., who had never before been in the White Nile provinces, and consequently did not know the Shilluks. It must first of all be understood that the Mudir gives his decisions after consultation with the mek, and that everybody recognises the authority of his decisions, whatever they may be, their execution, however, being left to the mek. In a case that came before Inspector W. he decided that a certain Shilluk chief should forfeit to the Government ten head of cattle. The Mek, being opposed to the mandate issued, did not wish to carry it out, "for," said he, "the decree disregards the habits, customs, and laws of the Shilluks." Inspector W. could not prevail

¹ The official place of the Mudir.



A SHILLUK VILLAGE.



A SHILLUK CANOE.

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TO THE
ABBOT

upon the Mek to change his mind, so the decree remained a dead letter. Feeling much annoyed at this, the inspector one day took with him twenty policemen, and made a descent upon the place, where he found about two thousand Shilluks assembled. "Where are the cattle?" said he. "There they are," replied the sheikh, pointing to ten beasts that stood near his tukul. "Send them to the Mudiria," ordered the inspector. "The Mek has not given me the order to do so," said the sheikh. The inspector then turned to his men and ordered them to take possession of the beasts.

Up to this moment the two thousand Shilluks had remained impassive, the iron tips of their lances turned earthwards—a sign of peace! The moment they saw the police move towards the cattle, they all turned their lances and struck their shields—a sign of war! Seeing how affairs stood, Inspector W. countermanded his order to the police, and with them hastened off to their boat and steamed away. The matter was settled to the general satisfaction a few days later when the case was retried, and the inspector issued an order in harmony with Shilluk habits and customs, and the Mek executed the order by sending to the sheikh one of his bailiffs, who quite alone did what was required.

The Shilluks are not litigious, but they value their rights, and do not allow themselves to be ill-treated by anyone except their mek.

Tea over, we stepped ashore on to the wharf, and talking all the while, proceeded along the embankment to the town. The Egyptian fort, which had been put into a state of defence by Marchand, has been transformed into shops, but its garden still thrives, for it is verdant and full of flowers. There were about five

hundred Shilluks on the ground, divided on the basis of their village or community. Each division had a red flag bearing white Roman letters to indicate the name of the place to which it belonged. The Shilluks themselves had asked to have a flag like that of the Egyptian battalions, and the Mudir, Matthews Bey, gave them these flags, one for every community in the Shilluk country. They respect their flags, and follow them with fidelity.

The Mek, a tall negro robed in a *gubba*¹ of red cloth with gilt braid, and girt with a Turkish sabre, came on to the parade ground with his dragoman,² and we stepped forward to greet him. He speaks nothing but his own language, though he understands Arabic when anyone speaks to him in that language. Suddenly the kettle-drums beat, and the bugles sounded, and we saw the first battalion step out, the other battalions following at regular intervals.

They marched in columns, four by four, brandishing their spears and striking them on their shields. The noise was deafening, for they shouted and sang at the same time. They came charging straight down upon us, whilst a few exuberant spirits at the sides executed fantastic dances, leaping upwards to the height of about a metre. When they arrived at a point two or three metres from where we were, they gesticulated as if they were throwing their spears at an enemy in order to transfix him, struck their shields, made a half-turn to the left, and then retired to their position on the slope at the upper end of the parade-ground.

Five battalions went through the same manoeuvres, then recommenced several times, whilst all the inhabi-

¹ In some dialects *jibba*, a kind of loose shirt.

² Interpreter.



THE KING OF THE SHILLUKS.

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TO THE
LIBRARY

tants of the place, together with the passengers and sailors from our boat, were present to watch their strange, impressive dances. They concluded with the dance of the hyena hunters, in which all the dancers appear to be lame in one leg, with the idea apparently of imitating the slovenly gait of the hyena.

These men, with their enormous and weird head-dress, their academical nudity, their well-built and harmoniously-shaped bodies, afforded us a spectacle of a most agreeable nature, highly impressive and unique. Most of the men wear bracelets and amulets, and, in addition, the skin of some animal—generally a leopard—is hung below the loins. This skin, but for which they would be absolutely naked, serves as a carpet when they sit down.

The women have the hair close-cut, whereas the men wear their hair long and dressed in a variety of shapes. Professional hairdressers arrange and weave the men's abundant locks into shape, the arrangement lasting a lifetime. It seems to me that all the elderly men, and even the very old men, dye their hair red by treating it with lime; in some cases they let their hair fly in the wind in quite an unstudied fashion.

As soon as the dance was over, we said good-bye to the Mek and went on to the Mudir's for dinner.

The houses constructed by the Government on the White Nile are, in general, of corrugated iron, which is a great mistake, hygienically speaking, but, on the other hand, such constructions afford a guarantee against white ants. Most people are of opinion that houses in burnt brick and with iron beams, such as are seen on the Blue Nile and in the northern parts of the White Nile, are the best possible dwellings for these southern regions, but, naturally, where there are rainy seasons, the roofs

must slope, and not take the shape of terraces, as they do farther north.

We had an excellent dinner; the wines were good, and the conversation proved most interesting. At nine o'clock we rose to take leave of our host, but he accompanied us to our boat, and did not leave us until we had unmoored and moved off.

On the afternoon of our arrival at Kodok we saw for the first time a boat made out of the wood of the ambash tree, and the boat itself was named "Ambash." There were three fine Shilluks on the banks of the Nile, two of whom entered the boat, with their spears and shields, and manœuvred the miniature vessel, where there was scarcely room enough for them to seat themselves, with much skill. They went right round our steamer, and then disappeared at the bend of the river. The third Shilluk washed his hands and feet with Nile mud, which he used in lieu of soap, after which he picked up a piece of brick, with which he set about cleaning and sharpening his spear. When we left the steamer to go into the town with the Mudir, the Shilluk was still occupied in cleaning and sharpening the iron tip of his spear, heedless of what was going on around him. He was awaiting the return of his two friends who had gone off in the "Ambash."

We also observed that near the shore a portion of the Nile had been enclosed by means of piles driven into the water. The Mudir informed us that this was the public washing-place, where the women came to get water, to wash themselves, etc., and that the piles serve to prevent the crocodiles from intruding upon them and eating them up, together with their children, at such times as they betake themselves there. It seems that in the neighbourhood of large communities of people crocodiles



THE VILLAGE OF MALAKAL.



A BUTCHER'S SHOP AT MALAKAL.

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TO THE
ABORIGINAL

abound, partial as they are to human flesh, and that they are most audacious creatures.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

21st December, 1908.

Unfortunately it was at three in the morning when we passed Lull, where Father Angelo Maggio left us. I feel sorry to have lost his company, as he is a man of great intelligence, and of an inquiring and observant nature.

At 7 a.m. we arrived at Malakal, the Irrigation Station near the mouth of the Sobat. I should like to say something here on the subject of the irrigation works undertaken by Egypt in these regions.

The development of agriculture in Egypt since the beginning of the last century, and the changes brought about from the ancient system of basin irrigation to that of perennial irrigation, have led Egypt to seek means of finding an increased water supply in order to meet the needs of the cultivable areas during the period of low Nile, that is, from May till August, just when the crops require water most. It was somewhere about the year 1840 that the great Mohammed Ali Pasha commenced the Delta Barrage, which his successors were incapable of either completing or utilising until the year 1884. Just at the close of the nineteenth century the Assuan Dam was constructed, the amount of water which it holds up, and then lets pass during low Nile, being 1,000,000,000 cubic metres. This dam, acting in conjunction with the Assiut Dam and the Delta Barrage, has for several years in succession saved Egyptian agriculturists from bankruptcy. The Assuan Dam is now being raised to secure an increased storage of water, the

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object being to have ultimately a reservoir capacity of 2,500,000,000 cubic metres. This vast supply is to make up for the deficiencies in the water-supply during the period of low Nile. These are well-known facts, and it is likewise a matter of common knowledge that at Cairo the rate of discharge of the Nile at the height of the flood, that is, in the month of September, is about 10,000 cubic metres of water per second, whereas during the period of low Nile, in May and June, the rate of discharge in *good* years is not greater than 400 cubic metres of water per second. But for the supply stored in the Assuan Reservoir, therefore, the perennial cultivation of Lower and Middle Egypt would have been gravely compromised during the long succession of low Niles in recent years.

The result of all these efforts to increase the water-supply has been to extend the area of cultivated land, and, above all, to increase cotton cultivation, so that the immense quantities of water stored up are still all too insufficient at low Nile, and thus water has had to be sought for elsewhere. In pursuance of this quest, the first anxiety of the irrigation engineers, after the reconquest of the Sudan, was to study the Nile phenomena. They came to the conclusion that the periodical Nile floods and the consequent discharge of a huge volume of water during the period of the flood, starting in July, are due to the waters of the Atbara and the Blue Nile, that is, to the rivers flowing from Abyssinia. They further observed that what is known as the Nile mud is also brought down by these two rivers. Finally, they found that the White Nile contributes little or nothing to the Nile floods, and that it is not laden with mud at any period of the year.

Since the Blue Nile has its source and the greater portion of its course in a foreign country, the idea of attempting engineering works on this river has had to be abandoned, and engineers are concentrating their attention upon the White Nile, more especially upon the region of the huge marshes lying to the south of Lake No. These marshes stretch from near Tonga on the north to near Bor on the south, for a length of about six hundred kilometres, the width being very variable and the boundaries ill-defined. The ordinary width is not more than twenty kilometres, but marshy *khors*¹ lines exist throughout almost the whole of this region, all more or less connected with the river.

It has been proved that the Nile as it enters these marshes has a discharge of over 1000 cubic metres of water per second throughout practically the whole year, whereas, at its exit from them near Taufikia,² the discharge falls to about 400 cubic metres. No sooner was this fact ascertained than the engineers set about studying the means of bringing to the White Nile at Taufikia the 1000 cubic metres of water which the same stream at Bor discharges into the great marshes. The plan suggested of excavating a canal from Bor to Taufikia direct, to the east of Bahr el Ziraf, to serve as the bed of the river when diverting it from its present bed which traverses the marshes, has been abandoned as being too difficult and costly. In place of it there has been adopted a new plan to be carried into effect next year, that of dredging the Bahr el Ziraf itself. To widen and deepen this branch of the Nile by dredgers, so as to drain away *all* the water through this channel instead of allowing it to become lost in the marshes is the problem that now awaits solution.

¹ Gorge or valley.

² Frequently written "Tewfikieh."

Everything is but a question of money. If the Irrigation Service procures enough money to purchase a sufficient number of dredgers the work will be accomplished in ten years, and the Nile in Egypt will have a discharge of 1000 cubic metres of water at low Nile instead of the present rate of from 200 to 400 cubic metres, according as the floods are bad or good. If we allow a loss of as much as from 100 to 200 cubic metres, owing to evaporation and other causes, there will still be 800 cubic metres per second left at the time of low Nile (from May to July), under the worst conditions, and this without the help of the reservoir, which will be able to provide a surplus of from 400 to 500 cubic metres of water per second for a period of fifty days, or from 200 to 300 cubic metres per second for a period of a hundred days as required.

With such a supply as this the engineers will then have to find a means of ridding Middle Egypt, and more particularly Lower Egypt, of the surplus water, in order to save the Delta from itself becoming a morass! Drains to carry off such surplus water into the sea must be constructed at the same time as the channel between Bor and Taufikia is cleared, otherwise Lake No will but have been shifted from the 12th parallel of latitude to the 30th.¹

¹ Whilst on the subject of the drainage of the Delta, I cannot forbear from giving the reasons which led Abbas Pasha I. to suspend work on the Delta Barrage when his grandfather, Mohammed Ali, died.

When the St. Simonians had recommended the adoption of a system of dams, and the position for the latter had been selected, all this with the object of securing a perennial system of irrigation for the Delta in fulfilment of Mohammed Ali's desires, they neglected two important factors inherently active in the soil of the Nile Valley, soil that represents the mud-deposit of ages: (1) the porous nature of the Delta lands, (2) the almost insignificant slope of the Delta towards the sea, the fall being scarcely 20 metres in about 200 kilometres, or 1 in 10,000.

To-day the problem is becoming more and more complicated by the rapid conversion of the basin system throughout the country into the perennial system of irrigation, while the population is itself on the increase, as an inevitable consequence of the increase of cultivable land and of a reign of peace under a good government. There is no gainsaying that the primordial question of to-day is that of drainage. The irrigation canals, whose function it is to bring life to the country, will certainly not lack water, but the drains, whose function it is to prevent the land from becoming water-logged and salty, must be excavated, in keeping with a general plan, as soon as possible, regardless of cost, for the very life of Egypt is at stake.

Abbas Pasha, who was then (somewhere about the year 1840) thirty years of age or thereabouts, had since the year 1824 been *Kehya* of Egypt, what we now call minister of the interior. I well remember my elders saying of him that "he knew the number of eggs possessed by every fellah in Egypt," the meaning being that he was well versed in all that pertained to the wealth and agriculture of Egypt. But he was always opposed to the construction of the Delta Barrage, on account of which opposition Europeans have always regarded him as being an enemy of civilisation, as distinct from his grandfather Mohammed Ali. I have, however, been informed by Mazhar Pasha and Bahgat Pasha that his opposition to the Barrage was based upon a perfect knowledge of the needs of the Delta in particular, and of the Nile valley in general. He held the opinion that before constructing dams to raise the water-level several metres, and thus cause disastrous infiltration, it was first of all incumbent upon the engineers to devise a complete system of drainage to aid (1) in ridding the land of surplus water by conveying such water to the sea, (2) in diminishing the saltiness of the land by continual washings, and (3) in keeping the sub-soil infiltration water as low as possible. It was only after such work had been done that he would consider it safe to construct and make use of dams. No sooner, therefore, had his illustrious grandfather died, than he ordered Mazhar Pasha and Bahgat Pasha to take the levels of the whole of the Delta and prepare a general drainage scheme for this part of the Nile Valley. At the same time he decreed the erection of the dams. Doubtless the two projects could have been carried out simultaneously, but Egypt was not rich and the Viceroy was

The life of the soil of Egypt is water, just as that of the human body is the revivifying blood. To continue the *métaphor*, the irrigation canals may be likened to the arteries of the human body, whilst the drainage canals are the veins. Just as the veins carry away the venous blood that is harmful to health, so do the drainage canals carry away the harmful excess of water, laden as it is with salts and impurities of various kinds.

We arrived at Taufikia at 8 a.m. to-day, the 21st of December.

At this point the Nile is extremely beautiful, and great animation prevails both on shore and on the river. The dozen boats that had been detained, since the month of October, by the *sadds* in the Bahr-el-Ghazal have just arrived here, and they are whistling away to express their joy at once more being free.

A black battalion, commanded by Wood Martin Bey, was waiting on the wharf to embark on our boat on their

an economical man. He could do no more than answer the most urgent financial calls, one of which was to find money for the maintenance of the Egyptian contingent in the Crimean War. Mohammed Ali's engineers had themselves forestalled a part of the scheme by digging out enormous drains in the Gharbieh province, but what Abbas Pasha wanted was a general scheme for the drainage of the entire Delta. He died before matters took a practical turn, and Saïd Pasha, his successor, needed Mazhar Pasha to construct a fortress for him at the Barrage. Saïd Pasha therefore entrusted their work on the fixing of land-levels to Mahmud Pasha el Falaki, who had just returned from Europe, and in the end, instead of the levels of the whole of the Delta being obtained, we had, under Ismail Pasha, detailed geographical maps of Egypt prepared by Mahmud Pasha, and even the drains that had already been started by Mohammed Ali Pasha were transformed into irrigation canals, to the great detriment of the northern part of Gharbieh, which rapidly became a water-logged marsh, in which condition it was less than thirty years ago, when the engineers under Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff undertook the extremely difficult task of irrigation in Egypt, a task which they have brought to a successful issue in recent times.

THE AMERICAN MISSION-STATION ON THE RIVER SOBAT.



THE AMERICAN MISSION-STATION ON THE RIVER SOBAT.

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TO VISIT
ALBERTA

way to Mongalla. The band was playing, the people were shouting, and the steamboat kept up a continuous whistling. There was such a noise that one could not but guess that some rejoicing was going on—the air was filled with joy and gaiety! I can't understand how everything was got ready in time, but at 1 p.m. we started off, and ere long stopped at the mouth of the Sobat River to take in firewood. The Sobat rises in the Abyssinian mountains, and its steep banks are bordered with woods and forests, just as in the case of the Blue Nile. During the flood its waters are mixed with mud, and flow in a tumultuous torrent, as do those of the Blue Nile.

Leaving our barges here to be laden with wood, we proceeded up the Sobat as far as Doleib Hill, the station of the American missionaries. There our friend, the Rev. E. L. McCreery, had to leave us. He is an excellent fellow, and has been good company all the way from Khartum. The evening before we arrived at Kaka a black soldier was at the point of death. Mr. McCreery tended him, and endeavoured to restore him, but all in vain, for the poor man died in the night, and his body was taken ashore at Kaka for burial. The grief and sorrow our friend felt at his inability to save the poor soldier from death were most marked.

The diseases that decimate the Sudanese negroes are tuberculosis and venereal diseases. Tuberculosis attacks the Sudanese negro more than the Sudanese Arab, who resists its onset better, but both classes of negro are victims of venereal disease, which rages with extreme virulence throughout the Moslem Sudan, whilst it is rare or even unknown, it seems, in the pagan parts of the country.

I went over the farm at Doleib Hill, and found it

excellently managed. I saw the Shilluk labourers, servants, and keepers engaged on the farm, and observed that they were all well-fed and contented. The children are especially sociable, for they approached us without fear, and with a smile on their lips, which proves that they are well treated by the few whites that work on the farm.

For the last few days I have been feeling unwell, either because of the food or for some other reason, so, profiting by a conversation which I was holding whilst promenading with Dr. Lambie, I asked for his advice. He took me into his surgery, told me, after examining me, that I was suffering from gastritis, and gave me a dose of calomel on the spot. The missionaries kindly offered to accommodate me at Doleib Hill until the return of the "Omdurman" from Gondokoro, but I preferred to remain on the boat and to be moving onwards than to stay on this as yet uncleared farm. My friends, Prof. Sayce, Wood Martin, McCreery, and Dr. Lambie, having held a consultation together, it was decided that Dr. Lambie should go on to Gondokoro with us and back, an arrangement which was carried out.

We returned to the mouth of the Sobat with Dr. Lambie on board, and at 5 p.m. continued our journey southwards.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

22nd December, 1908.

At about 6 a.m. we reached Khor Atar, and at 9 a.m. Tonga. The latter place is a Catholic Mission Station, whose quarters are visible half-a-mile away. Being in the doctor's hands, I was unable to leave the boat to visit the Mission Station, and more than that, I was, to my



ATWATS ON THE WHITE NILE.



WAITING TO SPEAR A HIPPOPOTAMUS, ON THE RIVER SOBAT.

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1911. 1911

THE CITY OF

TO VINU ABROGLIAO



THE SACRED COW OF HATHOR, AS FOUND IN 1906.



Photo. "The African World."

"SADD" ON THE WHITE NILE.

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great regret, unable to receive the Père Supérieur, who was kind enough to call upon me.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

23rd December, 1908.

We are now at the confluence of the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Bahr-el-Gebel, in the region of the *sadds* and of Lake No. Horrible marshes—as far as the eye can reach there is nothing but rushes, huge papyri, and ambash trees, all of a dirty-yellow hue. A stench, *sui generis*, which Father Maggio would have called the "fever-stench," strikes upon our nostrils and pervades everything around us. To make matters worse, there is not a breath of air, and the temperature is over 40° C. (104° F.). We are cut off from all civilisation here, being unable to communicate with a soul.

The interest attaching to this marsh lies only in its novelty and awful desolation—not a bird, not a living creature within sight, save thousands of mosquitoes and winged worms in the air, crocodiles and hippopotami in the water! It might be described as a region of death, a dead marsh; in short, life seems poisoned at its very source, or, if I may venture so to express it, life itself seems dead!

S.S. "Omdurman,"

25th December, 1908.

At 6 a.m. we called at Shamba, a new station for bringing the White Nile into communication with Wau on the Bahr-el-Ghazal.

What desolation! I cannot describe the sensation produced in me by this station, with its few scattered tukuls, its high dried-up herbage, and the melancholy

in which everything seems enveloped—men, beasts, and plants alike! My gaze was attracted to the edge of the water by the immense papyri, which suddenly began to sway as if a land-breeze were impelling them towards the river, when lo! there appeared, emerging from the papyri, a magnificent specimen of a cow with fine horns and huge ears. Seeing the boat at a few cable-lengths off, she looked at us—it was Hathor-Isis stepping forth from the Nile from amidst a mass of papyri!

She reminded me of the goddess found by Naville at Thebes, now to be seen in the Cairo Museum! At that moment I felt a supreme joy that made me forget Lake No and the *sadd*s and the moral depression from which we had all been suffering for three days.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

26th December, 1908.

We are still steaming through the canal cut out in the midst of the *sadd*, with the same verdure, the same flies and mosquitoes, and the same heat.

At about 3 p.m. a rifle shot from Wood Martin wounds a fine crocodile. In an instant the whole boat is on the alert, and the greatest excitement prevails among all of us, passengers, sailors, the blacks and their women-folk! More than ten shots succeed one another as if by magic, and in a few seconds the monster is killed.

The boat is stopped, and twelve powerful blacks, who proceed to raise the inert mass to the deck, find themselves barely able to move it! The negroes and negresses are filled with delight at the thought of feasting on the enemy's flesh.

At ten o'clock we arrived at Bor, but I was still too weak to go and visit the Anglican Mission Farm or the



A "SADD" ON THE RIVER.



SAILING THROUGH THE THICK GROWTHS OF THE "SADD."

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india-rubber plantation. Inspector Bramley came to see us.

We passed the night here because the channel above Bor is for a great distance very difficult to navigate at night on account of the *sadd*.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

27th December, 1908.

We left at 7 a.m. Inspector Bramley kindly came to place his services at our disposal before our departure, but being unwell, I was unable to quit the boat. It is to this inspector that a very strange adventure happened in the unknown region to the west of Bor, between the Nile and the Sobat.

With an escort of twenty blacks and several mules, he was travelling in a forest for the purpose of determining its position and extent, and on coming to a glade the party stopped to rest and take refreshments. Hardly had they stopped when they were attacked by a swarm of bees. They tried to drive off their tormentors, but other swarms came to the help of the first, and still other swarms to the help of both, until, in a few minutes, the attackers numbered thousands of millions, the air became black with them, and the noise they made was deafening. Naturally the mules broke loose and fled, whilst the men endeavoured to protect their faces and hands by covering them with cloths and running away. Whoever budged from his place drew a cloud of bees in pursuit. Finally, after having run for several kilometres, Mr. Bramley found himself quite alone, fearfully stung by the little creatures. Presently he started off in search of his men and mules, and luckily found them all, one after another, as well as the cases that had remained attached to the

pack-saddles of the mules. He was then able to get at bottles of ammonia and various antiseptics, with which to commence remedial operations on the mules, his men, and himself.

It appears that such swarms of bees are by no means rare in the forest, where, in general, no one ever troubles them, and where, consequently, they prosper and multiply in an extraordinary fashion. Their manner of attacking and pursuing an enemy, as exemplified in this case, affords abundant proof that men, or perhaps monkeys or other animals, are fond of their honey, which the bees have therefore learnt to defend with such great energy and perseverance as to pursue their enemy for several kilometres.

In the course of the day we passed El Kenisa Malik, so called because of a Catholic Mission Station of the Verona Fathers that existed there when their headquarters was at Gondokoro, thirty years prior to the Mahdist insurrection.

At 8 p.m. we called at El Gameiza to replenish our stock of firewood, and then stopped at Kiro for the night.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

28th December, 1908.

In the morning we traversed a canal to the west, leaving the ordinary track to the east, in order to call at Tak Tombi, a new station which brings the country to the west of the river into communication with the Nile. It is a wretched place, with barely a couple of tukuls for the use of officials, and a few tukuls for the Dinka villagers, who live by fishing and hunting.

At about eleven o'clock we reached Giggling, a Dinka



A GROUP OF DINKA MEN.



ATWAT ARCHERS SHOOTING FOR PRIZES.

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village. On the river bank there was a herd of splendid cows, with their attendants, who had just led them to the water to drink. Never have I seen such varieties of shapes in cows' horns! Some were circular, such as may be seen in Egyptian hieroglyphics in representations of cows bearing the sun; others literally hung down on each side of the head; others again looked as though a wind had caused them both to bend over to one side, whilst there were some quite straight, like the horns of a gigantic antelope. No two horns were alike! I was assured that it is the herdsmen themselves that arrange the horns in this fantastic way when the beasts are young. Seeing the men and cows together, it is difficult to distinguish between them, at least on the score of intelligence. They understand one another very well; one might even say that they talk to one another, for they live so much together as to end by understanding one another. When a cow cannot, for one reason or another, get to the water, she lows, and the herdsman at once comes to her help. Taking her by one of the horns or the tail, he leads her to a place where she can drink at ease.

From time to time Wood Martin Bey's band favoured us with music. The blacks are much finer musicians than our Egyptian peasants. They *feel* the music, and prefer the music of a full European orchestra to their own music, which makes less effect. They have a good ear for music, and love it for its own sake and for the sake of dancing.

When Wood Martin Bey gave the order for the band to play there were on shore about a hundred Dinkas stark-naked, their only article of attire being a feather stuck in their head-dress. They were splendid fellows, but seemed to pay no attention to what was going on around them, save perhaps to watch the cattle drinking in the

Nile. Suddenly, however, just when the music ceased, they all started as if moved by a spring, and began to vie with one another in dancing and shouting. Seeing their enthusiasm, our soldiers' women-folk on board began to give utterance to their strident *zagharites* and to clap their hands. The festival ended at nightfall, and one result of it all was that six or seven strapping young fellows enlisted in our battalion. Next day, Wood Martin Bey, seeing his new recruits squatting on their heels, ignorant even of how to put on the cotton drawers that had been given them to hide their nakedness, said to me, "This shows what missionaries we are, and how we clothe these savages!"

S.S. "Omdurman,"

29th December, 1908.

At six o'clock this morning we stopped at a new india-rubber station situated about a mile north of Mongalla. I was told there that, in the Lado Enclave which lies just in front, the Belgians have already from 6000 to 7000 india-rubber creepers bearing most productively in one of their farms, a sure indication that the climate and soil are admirably suited to this kind of cultivation. Everybody hopes that our farms will also meet with success, and I share in the hope, for such success will mark the beginning of the wealth and civilisation of the country.

From a very early hour the troops on board, together with their harems, had been preparing to disembark at Mongalla. Weapons were burnished, and the soldiers smartened themselves up until they looked thoroughly well-groomed. The straw hats, which they use in addition to the fez, were fixed around their necks by chin-straps, and lay resting on their shoulders, ready to be raised over

the fez in case of need. The bandsmen, in addition to cleaning up their weapons and belts, had to polish their instruments, and it was a real pleasure to witness the loving way in which they polished them. One of them in particular, a man with a silver cornet, was not satisfied with his work until he could see his black face with its smile reflected clearly in the silver of his instrument. When that point of success was reached he gave a huge smile of satisfaction and placed the cornet in its case.

On arriving at Mongalla, the band began to play. The battalion stepped ashore, preceded as usual by the regimental colours, the red flag with the white crescent and star. Following the troops were the women, and last of all the merchandise. Care was taken, I ought to have said, to get the mail ashore first.

The Mudir, Owen Bey, came to see us, and at 11.30 a.m. we left, having disembarked at Mongalla Wood Martin Bey and his soldiers, two inspectors, and nearly all our passengers. The boat, therefore, seemed empty, reduced as the passengers were to Prof. Sayce, Dr. Lambie, and myself.

Mongalla presents an agreeable, smiling appearance. The Nile at this point is fine and wide, having reassumed the White Nile characteristics of low, verdant banks, with here and there groups of trees, and the absence of the marshes, papyri, and rushes of the *sadds*. The weather is also more pleasant, there being a light, refreshing, north breeze.

At 3 p.m. we reached Lado, where we moored for the night. Two Belgian officials, inspectors, came to visit us, one being a Dane and the other a Norwegian. They are both about to return to Europe, and complain bitterly of their inability to return with us by way of the Nile,

inasmuch as they are obliged to take the Congo route back, *via* Boma and the west coast.

The weather is so fine and the air so clear that we can see on the western horizon the mountains of Lado.

The Governor, M. Prudhomme, also came to call upon us. He is a young Belgian, active and intelligent, who spoke of the efforts made to cultivate india-rubber trees, and gave a most favourable opinion on the plantation system in vogue.

We left the boat to take a walk on shore. In the course of our promenade we saw very few people, but all those we saw appeared well and happy.

At this station we have taken on board a number of elephants' teeth for a Khartum merchant, and discharged a cargo of various kinds of goods for merchants at Lado and in the interior.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

30th December, 1908.

It was very cool this morning when we left Lado. The north wind, the dry air, and the general coolness have quite restored me to health, but I must not omit to mention the kindly care and sympathetic attentions of Dr. Lambie. It was thus a pleasure for me to be able to go on shore on our arrival at Gondokoro, and to make my way with my companions to the residence of the Uganda Government inspector. We then visited together the fortifications of Sir Samuel Baker, and the site of the former Catholic mission, church, and cemetery. The Nile has carried away all this part of the town of Ismailia.

The name Gondokoro is, I am informed, the native

way of saying "The town is over there!", the natives here being of the Bari tribe.

Sir Samuel Baker gave the name of Ismailia to the place in keeping with that of Taufikia, which he gave to the fort at the point where the Nile leaves Lake No. I cannot discover why the ridiculous name Gondokoro has been retained here instead of the name Ismailia given to the town by Sir Samuel Baker, its founder.

Banana-trees are much cultivated here. Everyone on board, passengers and sailors, bought bananas at the uniform price of five piastres the bunch of about a hundred. At the moment of departure our boat resembled a banana boat, the bunches of bananas being suspended from the rope that passed around the awnings. They not only pleased the eye, but their delicious odour rendered the atmosphere most refreshing.

It was 11.30 a.m. when we left Gondokoro, after having said good-bye to our amiable host, the English Commissioner, and as this was the most southern point of our trip, we began our return journey on the 30th December, 1908, at the hour named.

Before starting off we took on board a German traveller, Herr Theo. Kassner, who was on his way back from the Cape. He has crossed Africa up to this point, from south to north, in eighteen months, and is now going straight on to Cairo.¹

The same day, at 12.30 p.m., we called again at Lado

¹On his arrival at Alexandria Herr Kassner published a short account of his travels in the *Egyptian Gazette*. The Parisian magazine, *Je sais tout*, has published a serial account of his travels, illustrated by photographs, the series beginning on the 15th July, 1909. Herr Kassner has also related his experiences before H.R.H. Prince Albert of Belgium, before the latter's departure for the Congo. In a letter of the 5th Jan., 1910, Herr Kassner informs me that a full account of his travels will shortly appear in book form.

to take the mail on board, and left at 1 p.m., arriving at Mongalla at 3 p.m. The Mudir, Owen Bey, came to have tea with us, and invited us to dinner. Owen Bey had been in charge of the Sinai Expedition at the time of the Akaba Boundary Commission, and this topic came up during dinner. His opinion of the Beduin Arabs of the Sinaitic Peninsula is that though they are near to Egypt and Syria, countries undoubtedly much more civilised than the Sudan, yet they are more savage and barbarous than the Arabs of the Blue Nile, Kordofan, and the Northern Sudan.

Speaking of the province of which he is governor, Owen Bey related the following incident: "One day Kid Di, son of the chief Alikori, paid me a visit with his father, whom he dragged along by force against his will. Kid Di asked me to kill his old father, urging as a reason for my doing so that it was the custom of his tribe—the Bari (or Berri) tribe—to kill old and impotent men when the sons had reached the age of manhood. He further • stated that his father was hated by the tribe because he had prevented rain from falling. I thereupon asked the old man whether or not he was willing to die, but he said nothing in reply, contenting himself only with shrugging his shoulders as a sign of indifference. When I told the son that it was impossible for me to grant his request, he suggested that I should send the old man to Khartum, a suggestion which the father regarded as exceeding all bounds, and which caused him to indulge in all sorts of invective against his son for entertaining such an idea. He seemed quite indifferent to his son asking for his death, but to be sent to Khartum was an insult and a punishment of which the bare thought alone was intolerable."

The Mudir related this story to prove that these savages have come to understand that even legal murders are displeasing to us, and that they must not dream of carrying them out without referring to the governor for advice.

The whole afternoon, oxen, to the number of about a hundred, were being embarked and placed in the bottom of the starboard barge. In these parts of the White Nile taxes are frequently paid in kind, and an ox is valued at £2. The oxen are conveyed to Shamba, and from there to Wau on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, where they afford the meat supply of the garrison.

Getting the cattle on board was a very exciting operation, for these oxen are small and light, and run and jump like gazelles. The black soldiers laid hold of their horns and led them to the gangway, then with the help of other soldiers, who pushed the cattle from behind, the animals were ultimately got on board. When there were several oxen together they would make a dash back for the gangway, from which they leapt ashore in a trice. Both the negroes engaged in embarking them and the onlookers laughed at such incidents, and quite enjoyed the fun. This went on until evening, when at last all the oxen were safely installed and tied up in the barge. In spite of their fatigue, all the blacks were perfectly good-humoured; everybody was laughing and sharing in the general amusement, and even Wood Martin Bey himself thoroughly enjoyed this new sport.

Later in the evening the band played very gay airs, and the negroes of Mongalla danced for joy, whilst the soldiers lined up in fours and followed their colour-sergeant with the Egyptian flag, taking their places over the cattle in the barge. On the starboard barge there

were thus the cattle below and the men above, whilst on the larboard barge there were the women above and the third-class passengers, with the merchandise, below. We were as full up as we could well be. Add to all this the hundreds of bunches of bananas stuck up under the awnings, and you may be able to form some idea of the picturesque and grotesque appearance of our boat, or rather flotilla, which came to resemble more and more a Noah's ark. What most astonished me, notwithstanding the previous experience I had acquired of travelling in the East, and of this Nile trip, was the way in which everyone found quarters for himself without appearing to be disturbed by his neighbours, or to annoy or embarrass them. Good-humour was the order of the day, even down to the oxen, which before nightfall, and soon after they were settled in their new quarters, began to eat voraciously the hay provided for them.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

31st December, 1908.

We left Mongalla at 4 a.m. The band awoke us to the sense of a very fine day, but at the same time to the perception of a disagreeable odour that proceeded from the moving byre we were transporting with us.

At 11.30 a.m. we called at Gameiza to take in a supply of firewood. Here the Baris carry the wood, as well as the negro employees of the Government. One of the Baris greatly amused me. He was carrying wood like the rest, but never once did he let go of his spear and shield. The former he kept in his hand, under the arm, or even between his teeth, whilst his shield, which was attached to his neck, hung down his back. These negroes are not as fine-looking men as the Shilluks, nor



AT BOR.



NATIVES OF THE HIGHER REACHES OF THE NILE (p. 240).

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as the Dinkas even ; they seem to me more skinny than the Dinkas. They are gentle, and apparently good-natured, laughing all the time they work. After they had finished their task, they dived into the water to wash themselves, and then dried their bodies in the sun ; this was the only occasion when the Bari I have referred to let go his spear and shield. He placed them on the ground, but the moment his ablutions were over, he seized them again.

At 4.30 p.m. we left Gameiza. Our journey through the rushes of the *sadd* is becoming very difficult, pushed forwards as we are by the current, which from time to time, especially at the bends in the river, is very strong, and tends to drive the boat into the rushes.

There is a cool north wind when at 8.30 p.m. we call at the Anglican Mission, whence we move on, until at 11.30 p.m. we stop at Bor.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

1st January, 1909.

I don't feel well enough to leave my cabin to-day.

At about 1 p.m. we left Bor, and at 2 p.m. stopped at Kenisa, where we passed the night because of a difficult passage ahead, which the steersman preferred to negotiate in the daytime.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

2nd January, 1909.

It was 5 a.m. when we left Kenisa. At six o'clock, on reaching the bend feared by our captain, the current thrust us with violence against a mass of rushes and papyrus. The starboard barge, on which my cabin looks out and on which are the cattle and soldiers, almost

capsized, and was only saved from being wrecked by the steamboat, which prevented it from being completely capsized. The noise and shock were so great that I awoke and rushed out of my cabin. I saw the barge almost upside down leaning against the steamboat. All the soldiers, who were in a half-naked state, were very excited ; the cattle that a moment before were bellowing forth their greetings to the sun, observed a solemn silence. A soldier on the barge, just in front of me at the moment I appeared from my cabin, called out to me, "The sergeant has fallen into the water!" At the same moment I observed Wood Martin Bey approaching me, so I hastened to inform him of the sergeant's plight. He at once went below, and ordering a boat to be let down into the water, went to the poor fellow's rescue. All his efforts were, however, in vain ; after two hours he returned convinced that on striking the water the sergeant had fallen a victim to the crocodiles which, it appears, swarm around the boat.

No sooner was the news of the poor sergeant's disappearance and probable death made known than his wife, who was in the other barge, surrounded by crowds of women, began to lament and weep, and the other women joined in her tears. Their cries and weeping, mingled with the bellowing of the cattle and the shouts of the sailors and soldiers who were engaged in trying to save the capsized barge from shipwreck, produced a deafening noise, and made a most impressive effect.

The north wind had ceased blowing, and at about noon, when we were ready to continue our journey, the heat was intolerable. To make matters worse, we were invaded by myriads of flies and mosquitoes.

We had only travelled for a short time, during which

things had begun to right themselves again, when we were informed that the iron tiller had bent, and that the boat could no longer be steered. We were just then in a canal, which extended northwards beyond the range of our vision, and southwards was a similar extent of the part of the canal we had just traversed. To the east and west, as far as we could see, and as high as the level of our eyes, stretched a plain of rushes and papyri, out of which rose here and there ambash-trees.

The scene was one of absolute desolation, and we felt our perfect helplessness in the midst of the marshy solitude, whilst the air was not only impregnated with the vile odour exhaled by the aquatic plants, but, at the same time, it was full of mosquitoes, flies, and other irritating insects. The boat was allowed to drift on with the current until by good luck we speedily reached a dry island of about 400 square metres in area. There we moored; herbage was cut down, a fire made, and the repairs needed by the tiller started.

The repairs, which lasted almost two days, were carried out with the thermometer standing at about 45°C . (113°F). The humidity of the air was intense, and voracious mosquitoes devoured us night and day, while—to crown all—there was not a breath of wind. The smoke from our forges rose straight up into the sky, and the surface of the water all around was as smooth and unruffled as that of a mirror!

All these unfavourable conditions combined to weaken me, and whereas I had begun to recover strength after leaving the *sadd* region at Bor on our way up the Nile, I now began to suffer from a very severe relapse, which greatly alarmed Prof. Sayce, Wood Martin Bey, and Dr. Lambie. Thanks, however, to the unremitting care of

the doctor, I gradually recovered when once we were in motion again.

During the time the boat was laid up on the island, I measured the height of the rushes and papyri in the Nile. From the water-line of our boat to the upper deck represented a height of nearly four metres, and when we were upright on this deck the papyri stood higher than our heads; the height of the papyri and rushes was therefore between six and seven metres.

The thickness of the branches of the papyrus just below the tufted top was about that of a robust man's arm, whilst the diameter of the tuft exceeded a metre. The ambash-trees, which at this period of the year are in flower—the flower is a pretty yellow one—were certainly from ten to twelve metres above the water-line of our boat. This tree grows in the marshes, but its roots must surely be well under ground, otherwise it would be swept away by the current. The tree I refer to, on which I made these measurements, was on the island where the helm was repaired.

The 2nd and 3rd January passed without incident in this desolate region.

The cause of the accident to the helm is sufficiently curious for me to relate the circumstances here. After rounding the bend of the river where the barge was almost wrecked, we entered a canal that has been cut in a direct north and south line in the middle of the *sadd* for a length of about ten kilometres. At about 2 p.m. we had reached a place where a herd of hippopotami were gamboling. The moment they saw the boat they made a dash for it, and charged into it all together. One of the herd being right in front of the bow, dived under it, and emerged from the stern, but, unfortunately, as it did



Photo, "The African World."

HIPPOPOTAMUS, THE WHITE NILE.

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so, its huge back struck the part of the helm that was under water. The iron twisted and bent, but the hippopotamus seemed to feel no ill effect from the encounter, for it turned round and swam on to overtake the boat.

During the whole of that morning Wood Martin Bey carried on an enquiry into the facts relating to the death of the poor sergeant who had disappeared in the river. Amongst the soldiers he questioned there were several who spoke little or no Arabic, so the sergeant who brought the men forward for examination had to translate both questions and answers.

I could not but admire these negro soldiers, whom we call savage, for their having been able to master, during a period in which they failed to acquire Arabic, their profession as soldiers—the way to stand to attention, to salute, to dismiss, to dress, to be smart in appearance, to keep in the most excellent condition their weapons and everything that needs burnishing up, from boots to leather belts and brass buckles—all this they do as if they had never done anything else in their life!

S.S. "Omdurman,"

4th January, 1909.

All repairs having been completed, and everything being ready for departure from our island of salvation, we steamed off at midday. The weather was still very trying, for the temperature was high, the air humid, and there was no breeze to aid us. The little wind there was from the south was nullified by the motion of the boat in the same direction.

At 4 p.m. we stopped a while to take in firewood, and soon after we arrived at Shamba, where we disembarked our soldiers, their women-folk, and the oxen. The whole

party were to go on to Wau, on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, where the battalion is to be quartered for a year.

The Government soldiers are treated absolutely like gentlemen. Not only have they a supply of clean linen, but also different costumes, which they wear in accordance with the nature of their occupation—manual labour, drilling, or parading. They have, besides, ordinary head-gear and straw-hats to protect them from the sun. Their bed-linen is of the cleanest, and each soldier is provided with a mosquito-net shaped like a conical tent ; at night the deck of the barge on which they slept resembled a field of tents.

We had at first a prejudice against travelling with these black soldiers on the Blue Nile, but we very soon saw that we had nothing to fear from their proximity. There was nothing that could possibly shock our feelings : decency, cleanliness, and good-humour are the order of the day in these black Sudanese regiments.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

5th January, 1909.

At 4 a.m. we reached Tonga, where we took on board other black troops for Renk. As they step on to the boat they are welcomed by the military band we boast of. These men have just returned from Kordofan, where they were engaged in bringing to reason the negroes of the mountains of Nuba, and yet, in spite of the rough work of the campaign and a march of over a month, the soldiers and their wives have an air of repose, and appear to be in excellent health.

The weather has brightened up somewhat, for the north wind is blowing fresh ; but, strange to relate, we have as many mosquitoes as ever. I am glad to be able to

report that my health has returned, and that I feel myself a new man.

At 6 a.m. we stopped at the mouth of the Sobat to take in firewood, and at 4 p.m. we reached Taufikia.

Wood Martin Bey and Dr. Lambie leave us here, to our great regret, for we have become so accustomed to their most pleasant company as not to contemplate losing them without reluctance. We wish them a happy new year and a pleasant stay ; they in return wish us *bon voyage*.

Our military band leaves us here too. We took it aboard at Taufikia, and it has accompanied us to Mongalla and back. As Wood Martin Bey laughingly said, "It is an admirable aid to recruiting and civilisation." The widow and two children of the poor soldier who was drowned on the 2nd instant have also disembarked here. I trust the widow may console herself with another husband ; the children will be looked after by the Government. I am quite sure it will not have reason to repent of its action, for they are two fine, strong children, full of vivacity, energy, and intelligence.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

6th January, 1909.

At about 2 a.m. we arrived at the Catholic Mission of Lull. Just as was the case when we called here on our way south, we were unable to visit the Mission, for we only stopped a few minutes, and that in the night.

At 6 a.m. we moored at Kodok (Fashoda). The night proved most pleasant ; the air was cool, and there were no mosquitoes. Everyone on board felt his spirits rising.

Matthews Bey, the Governor, was absent, a circumstance which we regretted, as we should have liked to thank him for the hospitality he extended to us on our up journey. Should these lines ever meet his gaze, I trust he may feel assured that we shall always entertain deep gratitude to him.

At 8 a.m. we left Kodok. The north wind was now blowing a gale, and the Nile was as rough as an arm of the sea. Our boat, together with the barges and a *gayassa* that we had in tow, tossed about so much as to make sea-sickness a possibility.

The starboard barge, which suffered considerably in the *sadd* on the 2nd inst., is now leaking on all sides. The soldiers are ordered first to the fore-part of it, then to the after-part, whilst some of them are occupied in baling out water from the hold. Finally, a plan is evolved by which the barge may be saved from sinking.

At about 4 p.m. we passed Malut, and two hours later we stopped at Mashra'a-el-Ziraf for firewood, leaving again at 8.30 p.m. The gale raged throughout the night, and the Nile continued to be in a state of great commotion. Waves broke in upon the barges and *gayassas* that surround our steamer, whilst the noise and rocking prevented us the whole night through from sleeping.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

7th January, 1909.

At about 2 a.m. everybody had to get up. Some men were turned on to bale out water from the holds, and others to see to the cables that unite the barges to the steamer, for the cables often snap because of the tension

produced by the waves. The engines even were stopped to enable these operations to be carried out more safely.

As the excessive rocking to which we were subjected continued without intermission, I was obliged to ask the captain to steer us into a creek at the side, where we should be protected against the fury of the north wind.

With much difficulty the barges were at last lightened of their cargo of wood and merchandise, which were transferred to the steamboat, and the water in their holds was completely baled out.

When we were taking in firewood at Mashra'a-el-Ziraf we once more saw M. Nourian, but he was unable to come aboard owing to the high wind and the agitated state of the water. At mid-day we passed by Gebel Ahmed Agha in the midst of a real storm ; the boat and the two barges, as well as the two *gayassas*, seemed to be engaged in a rocking contest. The water was everywhere, even on the upper deck ; the wind became colder and colder, and our poor, overworked soldiers and sailors were completely tired out.

At 4 p.m. we went in shore for a while in order to permit of repairs to the engine being carried out, and of the boats being put in order. Finally, at 10 p.m., we moored at Renk, when the soldiers we had on board disembarked together with their women-folk. These troops are on their way to Keile to do garrison duty there.

It is always highly amusing to watch the black soldiers and their wives embark or disembark. As the wind interfered with the proceedings on this occasion, the disembarkation was accomplished with considerable difficulty in the case of the women and their impedimenta—hen-coops, dogs, pigeons, etc. There was, however, scarcely any noise, and I heard neither swearing nor cries

of anger. The women received help from everybody, and not one of them got wet or was subjected to jostling. On the contrary, they seemed to rely upon the men of the detachment to see them through all their difficulties.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

8th January, 1909.

At 4 a.m. we left Renk, but two miles farther north stopped at a firewood station, from which we departed at 10 a.m. with the north wind still blowing strong and cold. At 5 p.m. we called at Gebelein, then followed calls at Abbassia, Costi, and another firewood station at which we are to pass the night.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

9th January, 1909.

We moved off again at 7 a.m.; at noon we called at Kawa, and at three o'clock we reached El Duem.

The Mudir came to see us; he was full of the Christmas festivities which he had organised at El Duem. He had twelve friends at his table, including four ladies. The whole party had come from Khartum to spend Christmastide with him, and to witness the tournaments and horse-races which he got up with the help of his friends, the tribesmen of Kordofan.

When we left El Duem at 5 p.m. the wind had abated somewhat, but the weather was still cool and pleasant.

S.S. "Omdurman,"

10th January, 1909.

At 7 a.m. we passed within sight of Gebel Aali, from which is quarried the limestone that is used for building-purposes in Khartum.

At about eleven o'clock, finding that it was no longer possible to tow the starboard barge without incurring danger to our steamboat itself, we ran it ashore. As soon as the cables attaching it to our boat were unfastened, it settled down near the river bank, where it will lie until it be raised again. A sailor and his wife were left on board to guard it, with a sack of durra to serve as their food, and all their belongings. It was quite pathetic leaving these two on the wreck in the Nile, in a wild, deserted part of the country. The woman, who wore her hair in plaits like those of the ancient Egyptian wigs, and who was half-naked, waved adieu to her women-friends with us, a melancholy smile rising to her face. The man wrapped himself up in his shawl, and prepared to lie down and sleep. He was quite fatigued after the many days of exhausting work which, with his companions, he had had to do in connection with the barge, and needed to recover his strength.

At noon we reached Omdurman, and three-quarters of an hour later we were once more in the Palace at Khartum, where Sir Reginald and Lady Wingate received us with their accustomed hospitality. After dinner we took the nine o'clock train for the north.

Prof. Sayce, with Bishop Gwynne and Mr. Drummond of the Gordon College, left the train at Wad Beni Naga in order to explore the pyramids and ruins of Meroë, whilst I continued my journey to Cairo, which I reached on the 15th January, 1909.

GENERAL NOTES
ON THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN
AND ITS INHABITANTS

I. ITS EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES

The boundaries of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan are as follows :

On the North : the 22nd degree of north latitude, with a bend for a distance of several kilometres along the Nile as far as Faras, to the north of Wadi-Halfa.

On the East : the Red Sea from the 22nd degree of north latitude to the 18th, beyond which point the east, south, and west boundaries are ill-defined. On the East and South they coincide with the frontiers of Italian Erythrea, Abyssinia, and Uganda.

On the West : the Congo Free State and the French African colonies, the boundary lines being defined in the Anglo-French Treaty of March, 1899.

This vast territory comprises, to the west, Darfur, which lies within its sphere of influence ; Kordofan, the Bahr-el-Ghazal regions, and the Lado Enclave, which form a part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In short, all the countries in the Nile basin are included in this territory, with the exception of the western slope of the Abyssinian mountains and the Nile to the south of Gondokoro.

The total area of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan amounts to about one million square miles. Of this area only 285,000 square miles or 172,000,000 feddans are fit for cultivation.

II. ITS CLIMATE

Latitude 20° N. is practically the northern limit of the belt of the periodical tropical rains, which become more and more abundant and regular as one advances northwards. On the other hand, vegetation becomes more luxuriant and hardy as one goes southwards, but at about the 13th degree of north latitude the date-palm disappears.

The climate of these regions—down to the 13th parallel of north latitude—resembles that of Egypt, but it is, of course, very much hotter and drier between Assuan and Khartum than in Egypt. From Khartum southwards there is a progressive increase of heat, and the humidity also increases during the rainy season, which occurs between April and September, and lasts for a period that varies with the latitude.

The best season for white men, though it must always be remembered that "the Sudan is no white man's country," is from November to March. At this period of the year the average temperature for the twenty-four hours is 30° C. (86° F.), the nights are cool—even cold frequently—the barometer continually stands very high, the prevailing winds are from the north-west, and the hygrometric state of the air is absolute dryness. Whites and blacks alike then find the climate delightful and healthy.

During the summer the heat is intense, the average temperature being probably over 40° C. (104° F.). Long ago, Diodorus of Sicily, referring to the climate of the regions south of Khartum, says (Book iii.): "Nobody can walk barefooted in these parts, for those who do so at once suffer from blisters. As for drinking, one would

die suddenly if one did not drink profusely, so rapidly does the heat use up the humours of the body. If food be placed in a brass vessel with some water, and the vessel be exposed to the sun's rays, the food is speedily cooked without the aid of a fire." This statement of Diodorus is by no means an exaggeration even in our time.

What most torments and weakens the whites, and even the blacks themselves, in the Sudan south of the 15th degree of north latitude, is the unlimited number and variety of flies, mosquitoes, and other insects, winged and unwinged creatures that night and day harass every other living being, man and beast alike.

On his return from our Nile trip, Prof. Sayce published in the October number of *The Review and Expositor*, Vol. iv., No. 4 (Norton Hall, Louisville, Kentucky, U.S.A.) a most interesting article entitled "The influence of the Sudan upon Jewish history." In this article he quotes from Isaiah a passage which describes admirably, in a very few words, the upper reaches of the Nile and the *sadd* region—the lands of mosquitoes and other winged creatures that torture, and of negroes. The passage (Isaiah xviii. 1, 2), according to the revised version of the Hebrew text, is as follows:

"Ho to the land of resounding wings which is beyond the rivers of Cash,¹ that sendeth ambassadors by the Nile even in vessels of reeds upon the waters, saying, 'Go ye swift messengers to a nation tall and hairless, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto: a nation enslaved and trodden down, whose land the rivers divide!'"

The mosquitoes, the ambash boats, the negroes, the Nile—all prove that at the time of the prophet Isaiah

¹ Cush.

the negroes were already carried off as slaves and incorporated, as in our own day, in the Egyptian army ; and that their country was known to the prophet by credible reports due to constant trade.

After Isaiah we have likewise the report of the centurions sent by Nero to discover the sources of the Nile. This report has been preserved for us by Seneca, and from it we see the help these centurions received from Queen Candace of Meroë in the accomplishment of their mission, and how their progress was stopped at the 4th or 5th degree of north latitude by the presence of the *sadd*s, which obliged them to return to Nero without having achieved their object. In short, everything goes to prove that the centre of Africa hundreds of years ago was in the same condition as that in which we find it to-day.

III. ORIGIN OF THE SUDANESE

We shall first consider the north of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It is inhabited by a Berber and Semitic Arab race, mixed with negroes of the Nilotic Sudan. The civilisation of this race has followed the movements of the countries of Northern Africa—Egypt and Abyssinia—and of Arabia on the other side of the Red Sea.

The influence of these countries upon the northern part of the Sudan has resulted, at one time, in the spread of Egyptian civilisation and religion ; at another time, in the Christianisation of it either from the side of Egypt or of Abyssinia ; and still later, from the fifteenth century onwards, in the entire conversion of it to Islam by the combined influences of Egypt and Abyssinia. The northern regions of the Sudan may be said, in a general

way, to turn on Egypt as an axis, a fact which is readily understood when one reflects that the same river, the Nile, unites one part with another.

From Assuan on the north to the Bahr-el-Ghazal on the south, all the countries to the west of the Nile have undoubtedly, from the remotest times, been invaded by Berber races from North Africa. These races, warlike and rapacious, were no doubt attracted southwards to the countries of the negro by the fertile lands, which they desired to appropriate to themselves, and by the possibility of enslaving the black inhabitants with the object of making use of them as agricultural labourers or as soldiers, or of enriching themselves by selling them to merchants and warriors of the civilised nations living on the shores of the Mediterranean.

As the Berber invasions were generally carried out by young, strong men, unaccompanied by their women-folk, it happened that, when the invaders reached the centre of Africa, they established families by marrying negresses of whatever race they enslaved. From these more or less distant times such mixtures of blood have produced a race of men of a highly-strung yet vigorous type, that have become acclimatised, in every way, to the inclement conditions of their new *habitat*, and especially to its trying climate.

On the Blue Nile, the Atbara, and in the Eastern Sudan, immigration seems in general to have been that of Semitic Arabs, either from Abyssinia, or from Arabia direct by crossing the Red Sea. The beginning of the period of such immigration appears to extend far beyond the Christian era.

Towards the beginning of this era, somewhere about the fourth century, the Meroëtic empire disappeared, and

was replaced by a Christian empire, whose capital was Soba on the Blue Nile. This latter empire was, in its turn, gradually destroyed and replaced, in a definite way, somewhere about the fifteenth century, by an Arab Moslem empire. From the time when Islam appeared, the tribes of Berber origin on the west, and those of Semitic origin on the east, having in common the religion of Islam, mixed to a certain extent, but in a general manner they have preserved their primitive characteristics in the countries occupied by them at the time of their original invasions. Thus the tribes that possess the generic name "Baggaras," and the Ja'alins, Ababdas, Shagias, etc., are undoubtedly of Berber origin, to the west of the Nile, and the Fungs,¹ Hamags, etc., to the east, are equally of Berber origin. The Shukrias, Kenanas, etc., in the east, are most certainly of Semitic Arab origin, just as the Rizighats that inhabit the west give the impression of being of Semitic Arab origin too.

The officers in the Sudan, and all officials, both civil and military, under the able guidance of the Governor-General, Sir Reginald Wingate Pasha, all in their own sphere and in proportion to the means at their disposal, make a study of these ethnological questions and of anthropology in general. Since the reconquest of the Sudan, the reports of these officers and officials have gradually swelled until they now form voluminous archives, which in their totality are of the greatest importance and interest. It is to be hoped that these reports will be studied and their results published some

¹ In South Africa there is a race of Kaffir negroes that call themselves Fingoes. Is it possible that they are related in some way to the Fungs of the Blue Nile? Certainly! The Fungs themselves say that they are Arabs who, in the 15th century, came as conquerors from the west, which seems to me to establish clearly their Berber origin.

day, and that they may be succeeded by others, for in this way much will be done towards settling by degrees these very interesting problems of the origins of the African races.

Another very interesting question that remains to be studied and solved is that of the mixing of all the races—Moslem and non-Moslem—between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At this epoch took place the invasion of the Blue Nile country by the Fungs and the rearing of the powerful Fung empire on the ruins of the Christian empire of Soba, which was completely annihilated. The Fungs seem to have driven the Abyssinians back to their mountains on the east, and to have reigned over the whole of that part of the Nile valley which stretches from Assuan to the Bahr-el-Ghazal, Kordofan, and perhaps even Darfur, Wadai, etc.

At about the same time—the fifteenth century—there occurred the invasion of the Shilluks, who, leaving the region of the Equatorial Lakes, followed the Nile northwards. Have these great movements from west to east, and from south to north, any connection with the edict of Charles V. that authorised the purchase and exportation of African blacks to America, and with the Portuguese activity on the south and east coasts of Africa? It would be of extreme interest were it to be proved that, in order to repopulate America after the sanguinary conquests of the Spaniards, Africa came to be depopulated by the most cruel system of enslavement known and the exportation of negroes from the continent. However the case may be, it is clear that from the fifteenth century the Nilotic Sudan has never known the blessings of peace.

We have an eye-witness of events at the close of the

eighteenth century in the person of Mr. W. G. Brown (*New Voyage*, 1792-1798), who for several years lived in Darfur, and who relates the continual wars that raged in this part of the Sudan between the various tribes and countries, their sole cause being slave-hunting, by means of which the markets of Europe and Asia were kept supplied with slaves *via* Egypt and Tripoli on the north, and *via* the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean on the east. The conquest of the Sudan by Mohammed Ali Pasha between 1819 and 1826, by its establishment of a strong government foreign to the racial hatred of the inhabitants, brought to an end the state of anarchical war that had so long been waged there. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, when slave-hunting once more became rampant, the country prospered only to fall finally into the hands of the Mahdi and his successor, as well as the Berber Baggaras of the west. Their fifteen years' government literally ruined and depopulated the Sudan until, in 1896, the Anglo-Egyptian army commanded by Kitchener put an end once more to the state of anarchy. The Sudan is now, little by little, rising from its ruins, as may be proved by the fact that whereas in 1899, on the morrow of the reconquest, the revenue amounted to but £8000, it now exceeds £1,000,000. The population itself shows a regular increase, whilst agriculture, commerce, etc., are progressing marvellously—miraculously, one might say—so great is the regenerative power of this energetic and hardy people.

This succinct review of the situation only deals, as may readily be observed, with that part of the Sudan which has come under the influence of Moslem civilisation. From the 13th degree of north latitude southwards one comes into contact with African negro races living

as distinct peoples, with their own distinct institutions, laws, and languages. Such are the Shilluks, Dinkas, and Baris, and, on the White Nile, the different races known under the generic name of Nubas in Kordofan, Niam-Niams, etc., in the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and Boruns, etc., on the Abyssinian frontiers.

Before proceeding further, I think it advisable to quote here the opinion of Prof. Arthur Keith, Conservator of the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons, who at the beginning of the present year (1910) gave a series of lectures at the Royal College of Surgeons on "The anatomy and relationship of the negro races."

The lecturer began by recalling to the memory of his auditors John Hunter, the founder of the anthropological collection at the British Museum, which collection is considered to-day the finest in the world. "Hunter's opinion," said Keith, "was that primitive man had a black skin, the whiteness of the skin being probably a result of civilisation. Appreciable progress in our knowledge of the human races followed the lectures of Sir William Lawrence in 1816, the principal conclusions at which Lawrence arrived being that there is one species of man, of which the negro is a variety, and that the negro from the point of view of structure is of manifest inferiority to the white man, a fact which should entitle him to the protection of the more civilised races rather than subject him to their oppression. It is curious to note to-day that when these lectures were published the opinions they expressed raised a storm of indignation. The liberation of slaves in British Colonies in 1833, and the American Civil War about twenty years later, gave birth to numerous literary works on the negro question,

works which, however, proved valueless to anthropologists. It was the genius of Huxley that carried the law of order into our conceptions of the human races, for, inspired by Darwin, he taught that all the races of mankind came from one common stock. From the time of Huxley, therefore, we may say that all generalisations on this subject have ceased, and anthropologists are now centring the whole of their observations on the stature, proportions, and principal features of the negro. When Africa began to be the subject of scientific study, it was recognised that the African races presented, so far as the head and body are concerned, almost as many varieties as the European races."

Prof. Keith went on to refer to the existence of a negro race in Europe in times of antiquity, and stated that this subject had first been broached a few years ago on the discovery of the skeletons of two human beings whose bodies lay buried at a depth of twenty-eight feet beneath the floor of a cave at Mentone in the Riviera. The researches which led to this important anthropological discovery were conducted under the guidance of the Prince of Monaco. The skeletons were carefully examined by Dr. Verneau, the celebrated French anthropologist, who came to the conclusion that they were the skeletons of negroes, to whose race he gave the name of Grimaldi. The epoch at which these men lived was approximately determined from the remains of a semi-tropical fauna which was found with the skeletons: it goes back at least 50,000 years, and at most 80,000.

Prof. Keith declared that at first he doubted the grounds on which Dr. Verneau concluded that the Grimaldi was a negro race, but after examining the great collection of skulls in the museum of the Royal College

of Surgeons, he discovered some skulls of the negro race of the Fiji Islands absolutely identical with those of the Grimaldi race! "There is, therefore," said Prof. Keith, "no longer any reason to doubt the truth of Dr. Verneau's conclusion, which is that, at a certain epoch, at least the southern part of Europe was inhabited by a negro race. Moreover, all the evidence that is of value goes to prove that primitive man was of a dark colour, and that the evolution of the European race with a lighter hue is, from a geological point of view, a comparatively recent event. So far as the anatomy of the blacks is concerned, it must be observed that the wide and short face, and the high cheek-bones of the negro, are chiefly due to the robustness of their teeth and masticatory muscles. Their protruding jaws not only give them a palate and mouth of great dimensions, but facilitate the passage of air through the nose and throat. The small jaws of Europeans are not due to the smallness of their teeth, inasmuch as these are not appreciably different from those of negroes, but really to an arrested growth. In the case of negroes the growth goes on to completion, whereby there results the prominence of their jaws and the fulness of the pharynx. In the case of Europeans the growth tends to stop prematurely, a fact which causes irregularity in the arrangement of the teeth, so much so that in many instances certain teeth are absent owing to lack of room for them to appear. The pharynx of Europeans is consequently very narrow, from which cause arise adenoids or growths in the nose. The physical condition of the negro is perhaps not the most æsthetic, but hygienically speaking it is distinctly superior to that of the European. Moreover, the great width of the

negro's cheek is more apparent than real, on account of the narrowness of the head behind the ears ; his nose is particularly wide, but its apparent flatness is due to the fact that the cheeks stand out considerably below the eye-orbits."

In his last lecture, Prof. Keith threw upon the lantern screen a group of pygmies of the Congo basin. "These pygmies," said he, "are undersized negroes of an average height of 4 feet 7 inches. The pygmy negroes of South Africa are represented by the Bushmen, a race of men which, though it differs from the negro in form and colour, may be compared with him in physical characteristics. The Bushman relatively to the Hottentot possesses the same kinship as does the Congo pygmy to the real negro. The pygmy negro is likewise found out of Africa in the Andaman Islands, the Malay Peninsula, the Philippine Islands, and New Guinea."

Challenging a statement made by Prof. Kollmann to the effect that the pygmy is the primitive form of man, Prof. Keith went on to say that the first human type known is palæolithic man, who, if he was not of great stature, was at least sturdy, heavy, and strong ; whereas the pygmy bears in his physical features the evidence of his relatively tardy appearance. "The feature, by the examination of which one may best estimate the place of the various human races in the scale of physical evolution is," says Prof. Keith, "that of the forehead. A *slanting* forehead and overhanging eyebrows are very marked features in the palæolithic European, whereas the most striking characteristic of pygmy races is the absence of such a combination. Nearly all negro races show a tendency to prematurely arrested growth, but in the case of pygmies this tendency is especially marked. It is

possible that the races of pygmies met with in the Equatorial belt of the Old World may have been engendered there by races of full-grown negroes."

Viewing the evolution of the negro race, the lecturer, in conclusion, said, "I consider the now extinct Tasmanian race as the most primitive type of negro known. From the zoological point of view the Tasmanian was a highly developed man, and the Australian aborigine is probably the stock from which the white man came. The palæolithic European resembles the Australian aborigine more than any other known race. Migration and scattering have perhaps modified the details of the type, but they have not altered its main design; by their means the distribution of the human form and colour has come to what we see to-day."

From all these theories we may extract the two following points:

(1) That the negro races of Africa are as numerous and different from one another as are the white races of the northern continents of the globe.

(2) That, taking into consideration their conformation, there is no reason to suppose that the negro races are less capable of being perfected and of achieving progress than the white races.

The negroes, illiterate as they have been from the most distant epochs, live in a state of savagery, and I greatly fear that, whatever may be done to gain some knowledge of their history and origins, insurmountable difficulties will be met with. Gibbon, in chap. ix. of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, speaking of the Germans in the time of Tacitus, says, "They were unacquainted with the use of letters, and the use of letters is the principal circumstance that distinguishes

a civilised people from a herd of savages incapable of knowledge or reflection. Without that artificial help the human memory soon dissipates or corrupts the ideas entrusted to her charge, and the nobler faculties of the mind no longer supplied with models or with materials gradually forget their powers; the judgment becomes feeble and lethargic, the imagination languid or irregular." These same Germans, however, savage though they were at the beginning of our era, have not only become civilised, but have reached the front rank of the peoples that lead the civilisation and progress of our day. All that was needed to secure this result was that these same barbarians should come into contact with the civilisation of the Romans, and in their turn learn letters, science, and arts.

To the negro races of Africa the chance of becoming civilised has only just been given. From the most distant times up to the present day their contact with the civilised white man—be he pagan, Christian, or Moslem—has had as its cause nothing but the desire of the white man to carry them off as slaves to climes other than their own. To-day slave-hunting in Africa has, by common consent, been abandoned and even punished as a crime by civilised nations; the African negro, therefore, has now an opportunity of multiplying and bettering the conditions of his existence, owing to his contact with civilised peoples. Ere long the hold of the civilised nations of Europe upon Africa will prevent tribal wars, and oblige the negroes to devote their energies to agriculture and commerce, instead of seeking their subsistence in war and pillage, in massacre, or in enslaving their own kind.

IV. ARTS AND AGRICULTURE

In the following passage from Gibbon's great work, chap. vi., by reading *Europe* in place of the *East*, and *Africa* in place of the *West*, you will have a picture of the negro race of the future. "In the more remote ages of antiquity the world was unequally divided. The east was in the immemorial possession of arts and luxury, while the west was inhabited by rude and warlike barbarians, who either disdained agriculture or to whom it was totally unknown. Under the protection of an established government, the productions of happier climates and the industry of more civilised nations were gradually introduced into the western countries of Europe; and the natives were encouraged, by an open and profitable commerce, to multiply the former as well as to improve the latter."

V. TOWNS

In the Sudan of the African negro of the Nile valley there are no towns, properly speaking, any more than there were in Germany in the time of Tacitus.

"Tacitus asserts a well-known fact that the Germans in his time had no cities, and they affected to despise the works of Roman industry as places of confinement rather than of security" (Gibbon, chap. ix.).

VI. DWELLINGS

In chap. xix. Gibbon, speaking of the Germans, says : "They fixed their independent habitations on the banks of rivers—the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse; they secured themselves against the danger of a surprise by

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a rude and hasty fortification of large trees, which were felled and thrown across the road."

This is an exact description of the agglomerations of the negroes and negroids crossed with Berbers along the whole course of the White Nile. I have heard the Arabic name *zariba* applied to these fortifications or works of circumvallation.¹

Gibbon further says: "Their edifices were not even contiguous or formed into regular villas. They were indeed no more than low huts of a circular figure built of rough timber, thatched with straw."

How could one better describe the *tukuls* or conical huts of the negroes of the White Nile, or their distribution in the villages or agglomerations?

VII. CLOTHING

The Germans of the time of Tacitus were practically nude, just like the negroes of our own day. The former, like the latter, when for any reason whatsoever they wished to clothe themselves, had but the skins of animals with which to do so (Gibbon, chap. ix.).

VIII. FOOD

"The game of various sorts with which the forests of Germany were plentifully stocked supplied its inhabitants with food and exercise" (Gibbon, chap. ix.). The same may be said to-day of the negroes of the White Nile, except that the negroes have, in addition, considerable quantities of excellent fish that they obtain from the river.

¹ In Bulgaria these tree fortifications known as *Tehite* are much more carefully arranged, and are often exceedingly solid.

IX. WEALTH

The wealth of the negroes in the Nile Valley lies in their cattle, which, according to Tacitus, was the case with the Germans. "Their monstrous herds of cattle, less remarkable, indeed, for their beauty than for their utility, formed the principal object of their wealth" (Gibbon, Chap. ix.).

The ox is similarly the chief asset of the negro. Marriage dowries and taxes are both paid in cattle. The natives only till the soil in order that it may bring forth a little maize and millet with which to make their beloved *merissa* and *buza*; they pay no more attention to the cultivation of the soil than did the ancient Germans.

X. USE OF METALS

"Gold, silver, and iron were extremely scarce in Germany. Its barbarous inhabitants wanted both skill and patience to investigate those riches" (Gibbon, chap. ix.).

Though for close on a hundred years the establishment of a regular and civilised government in the Sudan—with the exception of the Mahdi's interregnum of chaos—has gradually accustomed the negroes to the use of coins, yet the picture drawn by Gibbon of the way in which the uncivilised Germans treated the precious metals may be applied to-day to the negroes of the Nile Valley.

"The various transactions of peace and war had introduced some Roman coins (chiefly silver) among the borderers of the Rhine and Danube, but the more distant tribes were absolutely unacquainted with the use of money. They carried on their confined traffic by the

exchange of commodities, and prized their rude earthen vessels as of equal value with the silver vases, the present of Rome to their princes and ambassadors.”¹

Gibbon follows up these observations of Tacitus with a philosophic remark which, in view of its importance, I will transcribe, applying it to the Sudan as he did to Germany.

“Money, in a word, is the most universal incitement ; iron the most powerful instrument of human industry. It is very difficult to conceive by what means a people neither actuated by the one nor seconded by the other could emerge from the greatest barbarism!”

Thus we alight upon one of the reasons of the weakness and barbarism of the negroes of our day. They have been unable to trade with their neighbours owing to lack of silver and gold, and to defend themselves against the attacks of their enemies owing to lack of iron!

On the banks of the Nile they are now beginning to understand the value of coins, as I have already indicated, owing to the efforts of foreign missionaries, the Government, and the Sudanese army ; and, in a short time, owing to the work of the schools, they will be capable of working both wood and iron. The Niam-Niams on the Bahr-el-Ghazal, who are practically the only tribe that understands the art of working iron, are for this reason alone the most warlike, the most feared, and the most independent negroes of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Let us continue to follow Gibbon's masterly work,

¹In 1877, during the Abyssinian War, our Egyptian soldiers actually exchanged Maria Thérèse dollars for several sovereigns or Egyptian pounds in gold, so little value did the Abyssinians, at so recent a period, attach to the value of these gold coins.

The Egyptian pound = £1 os. 6d. in English money.

and dip once more into chap. ix., where he comments on what Tacitus tells of the customs of the German barbarians. We find that, without wishing to do so, he describes the savages of the Upper Nile regions.

XI. INDOLENCE OF THE SAVAGES

“If we contemplate a savage nation in any part of the globe, a supine indolence and carelessness of futurity will be found to constitute their general character. . . . The care of the house and family, the management of the land and cattle were delegated to the old and infirm, to women, and slaves.”

XII. THEIR TASTE FOR STRONG LIQUORS

“In the dull intervals of peace these barbarians were immoderately addicted to deep gaming and excessive drinking, both of which, by different means—the one by inflaming their passion, the other by extinguishing their reason—alike relieved them from the pain of thinking.”

No one could give a better idea of the character of the negroes of the present day. Later, in chap. xxv., actually speaking of the negroes themselves, he makes the following remarks, which are still true in our day :

“The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect either of their virtue or their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites, and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence or of destruction ; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plan of government, or conquest, and the

obvious inferiority of their mental faculties has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coasts of Guinea never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains, and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe and the weakness of Africa."

In our day, with slavery abolished in principle and the day not far distant when it will have entirely ceased, and with the civilised peoples of Europe, Asia, and America changing their attitude owing to the opinions of thinkers and philosophers, like Gibbon and others, on the question of free labour, slavery, and African negroes in general, we may in a nebulous fashion perceive Africa civilised, and negroes and whites uniting in efforts to promote the welfare of a common humanity.

Continuing once again to draw a parallel between the barbarians of the time of Tacitus and the negroes of our day, we find in chap. ix. these further remarks on the taste of the Germans for strong liquors:

"Strong beer, a liquor extracted with very little art from wheat and barley, and corrupted (as it is strongly expressed by Tacitus) into a semblance of wine, was sufficient for the gross purposes of German debauchery."

Except for the fact that *merissa*¹ is made from maize the rest of the passage may serve to illustrate the

¹ *Buza* and *merissa* are two words used in the Sudan to indicate a kind of fermented beer. I find that these words are used on the shores of the Black Sea in the same sense, for in *Travels in Caucasus, Krim Tartary, etc.* (by Edmund Spencer, London, 1839) p. 188, we read: "The drink was a species of mead, and the buza of the Tartars, made from millet, in taste not unlike small beer." Again, on p. 324, we read: "Another of the Circassian saints is Merissa, protector of bees, and no less important a personage than

debauchery of the negroes of the Sudan. They drink on all occasions—marriages, funerals, starting for and returning from the chase, religious festivals, etc.—and never lose an opportunity of making themselves drunk, exactly like their prototypes, the Germans, in the time of Tacitus.

The conclusions arrived at by Gibbon on the subject of the Germans should give us confidence in the future of the Sudan. These are his words:

“The climate of ancient Germany has been mollified and the soil fertilised by the labour of ten centuries from the time of Charlemagne. The same extent of ground which at present maintains in ease and plenty a million of husbandmen and artificers was unable to supply a hundred thousand lazy *vauriens* with the simple necessities of life.”

From the time of Tacitus to the fifteenth century, when Germans began to awake to self-consciousness, twelve centuries elapsed. For how many centuries before Tacitus were the Germans savages in almost the same state as that in which he describes them, and as are in our day the negroes of Africa? May we not, then, hope that the negroes of Central Africa will likewise become civilised because of their contact with our civilisation, as did the Germans by being brought into contact with Roman civilisation?

the mother of God. This is evidently a mixture of paganism with the adoration paid to the Virgin Mary.”

Buza is made from millet, and merissa from maize, in the Sudan. In Egypt, negroes and negresses also make from wheaten bread a drink called *subia*. All these varieties of small beer seem to me to be of foreign origin, and to have been imported into Egypt and the Sudan, as also a sort of mead (hydromel), the name of which I do not know, but which is greatly used in Abyssinia.

XIII. LIBERTY

Meanwhile, the savages of Central Africa are, as were the Germans at the commencement of our era, satisfied with their state, provided that their liberty be safeguarded.

"A warlike nation like the Germans," says Gibbon (chap. ix.), "without either letters, arts, or money, found some compensation for their savage state in the enjoyment of liberty!" And, again, like "the independent warriors of Germany, who considered truth as the noblest of their virtues and freedom as the most valuable of their possessions," the negroes are, as we said when discussing the Shilluks, most devoted to their liberty and extremely averse from lying.

I will now conclude this parallel between the ancient Germans and the present-day negroes in the Sudan with a few further quotations from Gibbon, which may, from what we know of the morals of the Shilluks, easily be applied, in a special manner, to the negro inhabitants of the upper regions of the Nile.

XIV. CHASTITY. ESTEEM OF WOMEN

"Polygamy was not in use except among the princes, and among them only for the sake of multiplying their alliances. Divorces were prohibited by manners rather than by laws. Adulteries were punished as rare and inexpiable crimes, nor was seduction justified by example and fashion. We may easily discover that Tacitus indulges an honest pleasure in the contrast of barbarian virtue with the dissolute conduct of the Roman ladies; yet there are some striking circumstances that give an

air of truth, or at least of probability, to the conjugal faith and chastity of the Germans. . . . The Germans treated their women with esteem and confidence, consulted them on every occasion of importance, and fondly believed that in their breast resided a sanctity and wisdom more than human. . . . Fainting armies of Germans have more than once been driven back upon the enemy by the generous despair of the women, who dreaded death much less than servitude. If the day was irrecoverably lost, they well knew how to deliver themselves and their children with their own hands from an insulting victor" (chap. ix.).

By referring to what I have said of the habits and customs of the Shilluks, it will be seen that they have the same pure and simple morals of the Germans at the time of Tacitus.

It may be that a longer period will be needed to civilise the negroes of Africa than that which the Germans needed, or it may, on the other hand, even be that a shorter period will be required, in view of the more efficacious means that are at our disposal to-day in seeking to attain our object of civilising them. But, in any case, there is no occasion for despairing of our object being realised in the end, for, as Gibbon, referring to the Scots, says in chap. xxv., "Their southern neighbours (the Romans in Britain) have felt and perhaps exaggerated the cruel depredations of the Picts and Scots, and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacatti, the enemies and afterwards the soldiers of Valentinian, are accused, by an eye-witness, of delighting in the taste of human flesh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is said that they attacked the shepherd rather than his flock, and that they curiously selected the most delicate and

brawny parts, both of males and females, which they prepared for their horrid repasts. If in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glasgow a race of cannibals has really existed, we may contemplate in the period of the Scottish history the opposite extremes of savage and civilised life. Such reflexions tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas, and to encourage the pleasing hope that New Zealand may produce, in some future age, the Hume of the southern hemisphere."

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